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NOTES AND NEWS.

WE regret to have to record the death of Charles Harold Herford, F.B.A., Litt.D., Emeritus Professor of English Literature in the University of Manchester, which took place (in the 78th year of his age) on the 25th of April, at his home at Oxford, where he had settled only a short time previously upon his removal from Manchester.

CHARLES  
HAROLD  
HERFORD

Professor Herford gave the twenty best years of his life to the University of Manchester and helped to raise it to the present high place which it holds in the world of learning.

The eldest son of a Manchester merchant, born in 1853, C. H. Herford began to be trained as an architect, and retained throughout life his taste and skill in sketching; but the call of letters was too strong. As a youth he attended classes at Owens College under Dr. Ward, and began the academic studies which, when continued at Trinity, Cambridge, earned for him the eighth place in the Classical Tripos of 1879, when he was bracketed with the late Sir A. W. Dale, afterwards Vice-Chancellor of Liverpool University. He also won the Members' Prize for an English essay on "The Romantic and Classical Styles," and divided the Harkness Prize for an essay on "The First Quarto of Hamlet" with the late W. H. Widgery. These Cambridge successes discovered and justified his bent for English studies, for which he laid a solid base by his attention to the ancient classics. He was also largely influenced by his studies in Germany. In 1887 he was elected to the Chair of English in the University College of Aberystwyth, but in 1901 he returned to Manchester, and held its first independent Chair of English Literature until his retirement in 1921.

As one writer has pointed out: Herford regarded his academic

office as only one side of his responsibility as a citizen of the world. His weapon was always his pen, and his letters and articles in the *Manchester Guardian* and other journals show how deeply he was stirred by whatever seemed to him social injustice and political tyranny. He never regarded scholarship as an end in itself, but as the implement of criticism with which to interpret the speculations of master minds. He took for his province most of those things which are of the spirit, and made himself master of all that had been most greatly thought by the world's greatest poets. "He lived with Plato, Lucretius, Milton, Shakespeare, Wordsworth, and Browning, but he sought in them the light by which the spiritual discords of the present might be resolved into richer harmonies."

By preference he gave himself to the study of Shakespeare and the Wordsworth circle, Lucretius and Dante, Goethe and Browning, and it was on these that his reputation, both in Europe and in America, was based. "The Age of Wordsworth," published in 1897, remains his most remarkable book.

For twenty-four years Professor Herford served as one of the University representatives on the Council of Governors of the John Rylands Library and took a deep and active interest in its affairs. Some of the most penetrating of his studies in comparative literature were given in the form of lectures to Rylands audiences, and first made their appearance in print in the pages of this BULLETIN.

Professor Herford's industry was extraordinary: He edited Spenser's "Shepherd's Calendar"; a ten volume edition of Shakespeare's works, in which his prefaces to the plays are cameos of appreciation and summaries of Shakespearean lore. He also produced a great edition of Ben Jonson in partnership with Percy Simpson. His book on Browning in the series of "English Writers," along with his "Ben Jonson," are his longest and most valuable interpretations of single authors. He was responsible for introducing Ibsen to an English public, when he was hardly known in this country. He was Taylorian lecturer at Oxford in 1897 on "The Influence of Goethe's Italian Journey on his Style," and he helped to found the English Goethe Society. He was the biographer of Dr. J. E. Carpenter, W. H. Herford, Julia Wedgwood, and P. H. Wicksteed. He delivered the Warton lecture to the British Academy, and was Percy Turnbull lecturer at Johns Hopkins University in 1900. In addition,



he frequently examined for the Civil Service Commissioners, and also for the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and London.

By the death of Canon J. M. Wilson, at the ripe age of ninety-four years, the Church of England has lost one of its illustrious sons, and the John Rylands Library loses the last surviving member of the first Council of its Governors.

CANON  
J. M. WIL-  
SON.

At the time of the inauguration of the Library, in 1899, Canon Wilson was Vicar of Rochdale and Archdeacon of Manchester. He was invited by Mrs. Rylands to represent the Church of England on the governing body, and from that time until 1905, when he accepted Mr. Balfour's offer of a residentiary canonry at Worcester, he was not only regular in his attendance at all meetings of the Council, but was chosen by the book committee as its chairman, and rendered incalculable service to the Library at a time when its policy was in process of formation. It was a notable committee of which Canon Wilson was chairman, composed, as it was, of Alexander Maclaren, Alexander Mackennal, A. S. Peake, T. F. Tout, and A. S. Wilkins.

Canon Wilson was senior wrangler in 1859, and went to Rugby as a master under Dr. Temple. In 1878 he succeeded Dr. Percival as head of Clifton School, and in 1890 was appointed Archdeacon of Manchester. Dr. Wilson was the science master at Rugby when "The Origin of Species" was published (in 1859), so that his life spanned the whole period of the evolution controversy. No one worked more earnestly during that time for a right relation between religion and science, or with more insight into the nature of the problem. The highest offices in the Church were never held by him, but he had distinctions of character and personality to which deaneries and episcopal rank have nothing to add.

The commemoration of Founders' Day at the University of Manchester, which took place on Wednesday, the 20th of May, was marked by the conferment of five honorary degrees by the Chancellor, the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres. Before receiving the new doctors the Chancellor briefly referred to the losses which the University had sustained during the year, through death and retirement, and in particular to the death of Professor C. H. Herford and of Professor Dixon. He mentioned these for two reasons: for their

FOUNDERS'  
DAY AT  
THE VIC-  
TORIA UNI-  
VERSITY  
OF MAN-  
CHESTER.

great and distinguished attainments, and still more for the continuing services they rendered to the University after they had retired from active work for it. By so doing they gave it the great and almost incalculable advantage of long years of study and research, and of wide, calm philosophic outlook.

The honorary graduands were presented to the Chancellor according to the ceremonial formula, by Professor J. L. Stocks, who thus succeeds to the office of presenter of honorary graduands so long filled by Professor Samuel Alexander. They were presented in the following order, and in the following felicitous terms :—

THE EARL OF DERBY (Doctor of Laws) : To hold high position, to wield great power, to win general confidence, and yet through all to appear as no more and no less than a representative Englishman—this is, I submit, a rare achievement ; and I question whether this difficult rôle has ever been played with greater virtuosity than by the noble lord whom I present to you. The patron of all good causes, equally happy in opening a bazaar before a few-score persons and in controlling a mass meeting of as many thousands, his supreme art of self-effacement has made him the impartial friend of everybody.

It is said, however, that appearances must not be trusted ; that behind the mask of the bluff and burly Englishman there lurks a decided taste for subtlety ; and that when during a critical period he was British Ambassador at Paris, while he made a point of always telling the truth, he told it so skilfully that they never knew whether to believe him or not. It is said of him, too, that he never makes a bet, but always insists on knowing the odds ; and that while he is a good talker he is an even better listener. But our suspicions are not easily aroused. The Lord Lieutenant of the County Palatine and the Chancellor of Liverpool University are beyond our criticism. We know him as one who has not sought power, but has used it, when it came, as a road to the knowledge of men ; for in that knowledge he is an expert ; and Lancashire men may well be proud, as well as grateful, that, in spite of all temptations, his heart as well as his home is fixed in Lancashire.

DR. ARTHUR HARDEN (Doctor of Laws) : A graduate of Owens College, a member for eleven years of the teaching staff of its chemistry department, a Doctor of Science in this University, the



eminent scientist whom I present to you can hardly feel himself an entire stranger in this place. The intervening years, which have changed us into the University of Manchester, have changed him into the Professor of Bio-chemistry, the pillar of the Lister Institute and the Nobel Laureate. His profound and illuminating studies in the bio-chemistry of alcoholic fermentation have been influential. What connection they may have had with the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States I am not able to say, though the coincidents of dates is striking ; but it is certain that by these and other researches, and not less by his devoted work continued over many years as editor of the *Bio-chemical Journal*, he has contributed as much as any Englishman to the pre-eminence of English bio-chemistry in the scientific world.

He has now retired from his administrative charge, and is free to cultivate his lovely garden, to conduct his admirable journal, and cut faultless figures on the ice, while he watches his ferment still at work in the institutions which he formerly adorned. In that ferment we here claim our share, even those of us who are not bio-chemists. For him the monotony of success or the touch of cold philosophy may have relegated occasions such as this to the dull catalogue of common things, but he must forgive us if we are a little intoxicated at this opportunity of welcoming in his old University one of the most distinguished of her sons.

SIR JOHN SIMON (Doctor of Laws) : I present to you a master of the art of public pleading ; an advocate by profession, who is deeply versed in all the mysteries of the law and is by general consent supreme among his colleagues of the Bar ; a great pleader also in the court of public opinion, where he likes to plead his chosen cause at his chosen time, without calculating too nicely the prospects of speedy victory or the chances of public favour. His independence has sometimes disconcerted his political allies and encouraged their opponents ; but he has never failed in loyalty to a cause or to an institution. The friends of Women's Suffrage will always remember him with gratitude as a rock in a Liberal quicksand ; and, for more recent days, it is enough to mention the names Ireland, India, Slavery.

It is significant of his temper that while, if report may be trusted, he has refused the offer of the woolsack, he has remained for thirty-

five years an active Fellow of All Souls', and is at present proud to subscribe himself Treasurer of the Honourable Society of the Inner Temple. In him, finally, we have the rare case of a great barrister who is also a great House of Commons man. During the last twenty-five years few have so consistently held the ear of the House ; and now, from whatever quarter of the House he may speak, and whether he speaks for all parties or for none, he stands out as one of the few acknowledged masters who fill the green benches and compel attention.

DR. HENRY GUPPY (Doctor of Letters) : During this twentieth century few more astonishing things have happened than the creation in our city over the space of little more than thirty years of one of the great libraries of the world. Of this event I present to you the presiding magician. He was careful to take up his station in the library before a single book had entered it ; when its first birthday arrived he was found to be in charge of it ; and in charge he remains. Thus he has been personally responsible for admitting and placing on the shelves every single one of the volumes that are in his care ; and it may be safely said that he is unsurpassed among librarians in the intimacy of his knowledge of his treasures.

In administration his wise policy has made the library the handmaid of learning. He does not despise publicity ; but in the Library lectures, the LIBRARY BULLETIN, the frequent special exhibitions, he seeks it by methods which serve this great cause ; and he is himself an active worker in the librarian's special science of bibliography. And he has still energy to spare for wider service. He is one of the elder statesmen and past president of the Library Association ; and Louvain remembers with deep gratitude how the tragic destruction of its library stirred him to take the lead in the fine co-operative effort by which those irreparable losses were in some degree made good. In spite of a genius for acquisition, he is the most generous of men, and his kindliness is proof, it is believed, against all provocation except belittlement of the John Rylands Library.

THE REVEREND CANON BURNETT HILLMAN STREETER (Doctor of Divinity) : I present to you a notable defender of the faith, who is obstinately determined to define the faith that he defends. For this task he gave up his first vocation to the law, and to this task he has strenuously devoted himself in teaching and



preaching, as well as in a long series of publications unequalled in their combination of learning, candour, and freedom from prejudice. All his works, whether on the sources of the Gospels or on the origins of Christianity or on the philosophy of religion, have borne the same mark of openness to new ideas. To this, perhaps, he owes that singular gift for happy and fruitful collaboration to which a whole series of composite volumes testifies; to this, certainly, he owes a large part of his exceptional influence on the student life of our day, an influence which spreads far beyond his own university and even of his own country.

With all his learning and accomplishment, there is in him, no less in his books than in the flesh, something "unlicked, incondite," an engaging amateurishness. He could not bear to seem to speak *ex cathedra*; the apparatus of learning sits somewhat awkwardly upon him; he wears its purple with an apologetic air. For though he has been forced to take his seat among the academicians, his humour is not quite theirs. A modern Socrates, he is reluctant to open his stores except in persuading others to open theirs, and frequents the company of those younger and handsomer than himself.

Lord Derby and Sir John Simon undertook the duty of replying on behalf of the new doctors.

LORD DERBY said he regarded the conferment of the degree of Doctor of Laws as a great honour done to him personally and, as a matter of greater importance, to the University of Liverpool. He had not the advantage of a university education, but he would like, as an outsider, to make one or two suggestions upon the course of the universities.

One of the most difficult aspects of their teaching was to know how to accommodate the supply of "finished articles" to the demand. Many who had fitted themselves for posts found that the post was not there. He would suggest, therefore, that the entrance examination should be very high. It was in the interest of the university and of the candidate, who might have to face a future disappointment, that he should consider exactly what he wished to be. He would like also to remind them of two points which the Prince of Wales had recently made in Manchester: (1) the value of languages, and (2) the importance of bringing students from other countries into the universities, particularly of industrial districts.

SIR JOHN SIMON, expressing the thanks of himself and the other honorary graduates, said that he had enjoyed nothing more than listening to the character sketches contributed by the presenter. Here, by a practice which consorted well with a great modern university, the presenter used the King's English ; and many in the assembly would feel that he had proved himself a really worthy successor to Professor Alexander.

His mind, like Lord Derby's, had been considering the special function of a great university in a modern democratic State. One must realise first that the practical conditions of life, considerations of space and aptitude, and the daily work of the world, would make the privilege of a university education open only to the few. In addition to the functions mentioned by Lord Derby there seemed to be two overwhelming essential purposes. First, and deliberately first, the university should aim to promote the higher learning and help those who were able to ascend to lofty altitudes of thought. This practical age was deeply indebted to the scholars and students of the universities.

Secondly, and side by side and of equal importance no doubt, the university must justify itself by supplying a constant stream of men and women who were in the truest sense equipped by the course of academic training for work in the world. They must be proof against bigotry and clap-trap, must know how little we all know, be equipped with the priceless solace of some resource of literature or science which would lift their eyes, as time passed, from the idols of the market place.

It was for him a very touching thing, he concluded, that here in the city where his father had lived and worked, where he himself was born and lived as a child, that the University should do him this honour.

By the retirement of Professor Edward Fiddes the University of Manchester loses one who for forty years has been actively associated with the teaching staff, and since 1895 with the administration, first of the Owens College, and later of the University, of which he was appointed Registrar on its reconstitution by Royal Charter in 1903.

RETIRE-  
MENT OF  
EDWARD  
FIDDES.

It is forty years since Professor Fiddes, a young man, came from



Cambridge as assistant lecturer in classics to Owens College, at that time a constituent member of the original federal University which had been established in 1880. He became Secretary to the Principal, Dr. Adolphus Ward, and in 1895 was made Secretary to the Council and Senate, and later College tutor also. He was afterwards appointed Registrar, and for some years held the office of Senior Pro-Vice-Chancellor.

When Professor Fiddes came to Manchester the College had about 800 students in its day classes and a teaching staff of 90. He leaves a University having more than 2700 students in its day classes, and a teaching staff of about 400.

In every development during his long term of office Professor Fiddes has taken an active and often a decisive part in the shaping of policy. Indeed, his influence and service has extended to academic developments far beyond those of the University of Manchester, for his advice has been constantly sought by officers of other universities, by government departments, and by joint university conferences and committees.

Professor Fiddes has always found time for study, and his scholarship and knowledge of history, and in particular of that of America, were fittingly recognised by his appointment, in 1926, to a chair, happily named "the Ward Chair of History," in memory of Sir Adolphus Ward, with whom he was so long associated.

His retirement will leave a great gap in the administration and life of the University. By his unfailing kindness and generosity of heart Professor Fiddes has made a host of friends, not only within the University, but in a much wider circle outside, by whom he is held in the highest esteem, and with feelings of the warmest affection.

The Council of the University have appointed Mr. T. B. L. Webster, M.A., student and tutor of Christ Church, Oxford, to the Hulme Chair of Greek, in succession to Professor W. M. Calder who has been appointed to the Chair of Greek in the University of Edinburgh.

HULME  
PROFESSOR  
OF GREEK.

Mr. Webster proceeded from Charterhouse to Christ Church, Oxford, as a scholar in 1923. In 1924 he won the Ireland and Craven Scholarship, and was proxime accessit for the Hertford Scholarship in the same year. He was placed in the first class in

Classical Moderations in 1925, and in *Literæ Humaniores* in 1927. In the latter year he was appointed a lecturer at Christ Church, and subsequently spent sometime at Leipzig studying archæology and Hellenistic literature. In 1928 he gained the Derby Scholarship, and in 1929 was awarded the Cromer Prize for an essay on "Greek Sculpture of the Period of the Persian War." In 1929 he was appointed Student and Tutor of Christ Church. Mr. Webster has published a number of articles and reviews in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* and in the *Classical Review*. He has also edited, along with Mr. A. S. Owen, a collection of ancient texts relating to the Roman Forum.

Other appointments to the staff of the University of Manchester, which have been made during the Session, are as follows :  
 The Smith Chair of English Language has been filled by the appointment of Professor E. V. Gordon, of the University of Leeds ; Mr. Louis B. Namier, formerly of Balliol College, Oxford, member of the House of Commons Records Committee, has become Professor of Modern History ; and Dr. T. E. Gregory, who has already established himself as an authority and an original thinker possessing a comprehensive knowledge of his subject, has been appointed to succeed Professor Clay in the Chair of Social Economics.

The Treasurer of the Tout Memorial Publication Fund, the object of which is to endow the Manchester University Press with the means of helping the publication of works of historical research (see *BULLETIN*, vol. 14, July, 1930, p. 305), reports that after deducting the cost of printing and postage, a sum of nearly £800 has been obtained in response to the appeal for subscriptions. With the addition of over £350 from the proceeds of the volume of essays presented to Professor Tout in 1925, the total fund now amounts to nearly £1200. The fund will be closed shortly. Since, however, it is possible that the announcements of this proposal may have escaped the notice of some of Professor Tout's many friends and students, especially those beyond the seas, who would be sorry to miss the opportunity of participating in this memorial of grateful recognition of the incalculable services rendered by the late Professor to the whole world of historical learning, we are glad to be able to an-

OTHER  
UNIVERSITY  
APPOINT-  
MENTS.

TOUT  
MEMORIAL.



nounce that subscriptions may still be sent to Mr. H. M. McKechnie, at the Manchester University Press, Lime Grove, Manchester.

The third of a quinquennial series of Anglo-American Historical Conferences will be held, by invitation of the University of London, at the Institute of Historical Research, from the 13th to the 18th of July.

ANGLO-  
AMERICAN  
HISTORI-  
CAL  
CONGRESS.

It is hoped that the Prime Minister will be able to open the Conference at University College, on Monday, the 13th July, at 5 p.m.

General meetings will be held on the mornings of the 14th, 15th, and 17th of July; on Friday, the 17th, the subject to be introduced by Monsieur André Maurois is "The New Biography" and Mr. Philip Guedalla has promised to take part.

Sectional meetings will be held during the mornings of the 14th and the 16th July, when a number of very important subjects have been chosen for discussion, including: "The present trend of medieval historical studies in England and America"; "Changing views of the Renaissance"; "Luther in the light of modern research"; "Projects of Economic History in operation and contemplation"; "The present work and prospects of Local Record Societies"; "Local Records: their collection and preservation."

Requests for the full programme and other communications should be addressed to: The Secretary, Anglo-American Historical Conference, Institute of Historical Research, Malet Street, London, W.C. 1.

The Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society celebrated the 150th anniversary of its foundation on the 17th of March, and it is a matter for congratulation, and indeed of civic pride, that in Britain there is no society with similar aims, which has such a continuous history, and none which has a more distinguished personnel. It had its birth in that flood of interest in science that overspread Britain in the eighteenth century, and led to the formation of similar associations in Birmingham, Bristol, Norwich, Edinburgh, and Dublin. Most of these societies had but a temporary existence, but "the few gentlemen inhabitants of this city who were inspired by a taste for literature and philosophy, and met for the purpose of conversing upon subjects of

THE MAN-  
CHESTER  
LITERARY  
AND PHIL-  
OSOPHICAL  
SOCIETY.

that nature," attracted many other respectable persons to join them, and have continued until this day to do so. The Society grew out of meetings held in the house of Thomas Percival, a physician who had been educated at the Warrington Academy, where the famous Joseph Priestley had first studied science and advanced the boundaries of natural knowledge. Percival continued his medical studies in Scotland and Leyden, and became a man of considerable importance in the world. His personality and his wealth caused his house to become a meeting-place for discussions on natural philosophy, and it was from these meetings that the Society crystallised in 1781, with Percival as one of its first presidents.

In 1799 the Society removed to its present home in George Street, and to recall the names of John Dalton, Robert Owen, James Joule, Whitworth Fairbairn, and Balfour Stewart, and in its later history the names of Osborne Reynolds, Henry Roscoe, Schuster, Rutherford, Bragg, Milne, Perkins, and Lapworth, is to receive reminders of the contribution to the advancement of science in which this historic house has played its part.

The celebration was marked by the delivery of the Dalton Lecture by Sir Joseph J. Thomson on "Atoms and Electrons." Sir Joseph is famous as the discoverer of the electron, and it was he who gave the first insight into the structure of the atom, which was modified by Rutherford into the form which has proved so powerful in modern science.

In presenting the Dalton Medal to Sir Joseph, the President of the Society, Mr. C. E. Stromeyer, described it as the most cherished gift we are able to bestow. It is presented only to those searchers after truth whose achievements have equalled those of John Dalton and James Prescott Joule. On only three previous occasions has the medal been presented, and of those three recipients two had been teachers and one a pupil of the present medallist.

The Rylands Collection of English Manuscripts has been considerably enriched since the publication of our last issue through the acquisition, by purchase, of upwards of three thousand letters, and other manuscript matter, including note-books, deeds, and family papers of Johnsonian interest, much of which is unpublished.

DR. JOHN-  
SON, MRS.  
THRALE  
AND THEIR  
FRIENDS.



It is not yet possible to form anything approaching a correct estimate of the importance of this collection, but by the end of the year it will be reduced to order and made accessible by means of a detailed catalogue, with a full index, which is already in course of preparation.

In the meantime we have thought it advisable to print elsewhere in the present issue a brief outline of the scope and contents of the collection which will enable readers to form some idea of its value to students not only of the Johnson circle, but also of the literature of the latter half of the eighteenth century. There are manuscripts and letters to and from Mrs. Thrale, many in the handwriting of, or containing references to, noteworthy literary figures of that period, such as : Boswell, Baretti, Edmund Burke, Charles Burney, Fanny Burney, Marianne Francis, David Garrick, Oliver Goldsmith, the Ladies of Llangollen, Hannah More, Mrs. Siddons, William Siddons, and a host of others too numerous to mention in this short note.

The greatest interest lies in the contribution which the collection makes to our knowledge of Dr. Johnson. Many of the letters contain references to him, and throw a flood of new light upon the intimate relationship which existed between the Thrale family and their trusted friend and adviser for more than twenty years, especially upon their life at the house at Streatham Place, which both Johnson and the Thrales delighted to call "home." Notes on the back of many of these letters, in the unmistakable hand of Dr. Johnson, reveal the fact that they have passed under the eye of the Doctor.

There are twenty unpublished letters of Dr. Johnson to Mrs. Thrale, and upwards of one hundred letters from Mrs. Thrale to Dr. Johnson, also unpublished, in addition to all the letters (except one) which are included in the two published volumes : "Letters to and from the late Samuel Johnson, LL.D." (1788). These inedited letters will be printed and published by the Governors of the Library as soon as arrangements to that end have been completed.

The manuscripts include many of the published and unpublished works of Mrs. Thrale, in her own handwriting. One note-book of 147 pages is of particular interest. It contains Mrs. Thrale's journal of the tour in France which Dr. Johnson made in company with Mr. and Mrs. Thrale (between 15th Sept. and 11th Nov., 1775), the only time in his life that Dr. Johnson went to the Continent.

Boswell, in his *Life of Johnson*, expresses regret that Dr. Johnson did not write an account of his travels in France, which lasted about two months. We are told that he did write notes or minutes of what he saw, which he promised to show to Boswell, but this he failed to do, and the greatest part of those notes was lost, or, perhaps, destroyed in a precipitate burning of his papers a few days before his death. One small paper-book, however, was preserved, covering twenty-six days (10th Oct. to 4th Nov.). Now, the diary kept by Mrs. Thrale throughout the tour has come to light. This is being prepared for publication and will shortly appear in print.

We have in active preparation, for publication in the autumn, a volume of the biblical studies which the late Professor Peake contributed year by year to the Ryland series of PEAKE'S  
BIBLICAL  
STUDIES. lectures.

Most of these lectures have already appeared in print in the pages of this BULLETIN, but there has been an oft-repeated desire to see them brought together in some more accessible and permanent form, and it is largely in response to that expressed desire that the publication of this collected volume has been decided upon.

The value and the interest of the volume will be considerably increased by the inclusion in it of the three lectures on "The Servant of Jahweh," which Dr. Peake delivered at King's College, London, in 1926, and which will be printed here for the first time.

The volume will consist of about 400 pages, and in addition to the ten lectures it will contain a short memorial sketch and a portrait. It will be issued at the modest price of six shillings, in the belief that many of Dr. Peake's old students and friends will welcome the opportunity of securing so helpful and stimulating a memorial of their late revered tutor and friend.

The volume has been published with the approval of Mrs. Peake and her family, and we desire to take the present opportunity of thanking Dr. Wardle, Dr. Peake's colleague, friend and literary executor, the present Principal of Hartley College, for his ready help in the preparation of this volume for the press.

Any profits which may accrue from the sale of the volume will be devoted to the Peake Memorial Fund (see BULLETIN, vol. 14 (1930), pp. 307-8), to which £5000 has been contributed already,

but a further £5000 is needed if the designs of the promoters are to be carried out.

The latest of the publications issued by the Library is: *The Cartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of Old Wardon, Bedfordshire*. It is reproduced from the manuscript (Latin, 223) in the possession of the Library, which was acquired as long ago as 1911, and has since been awaiting the service of some medievalist to render it more readily accessible to students of monastic history.

CARTU-  
LARY OF  
WARDON  
ABBAY.

This publication was made possible by Dr. G. Herbert Fowler, the Honorary Secretary of the Bedford Historical Record Society, who very generously agreed, on behalf of his Society, to co-operate with the Library in the cost of printing and publishing the volume.

Dr. Fowler himself undertook the laborious task of transcribing, editing, and preparing the text for the press; and we desire to place on record an expression of our grateful appreciation of the great service which he has thus rendered to the Library and to scholarship generally.

The abbey to which this Cartulary refers was founded in 1135, by Walter Espec, who transferred to Wardon a few monks from his earlier foundation of Rievaulx Abbey. Nearly all the oldest charters in the Cartulary style Wardon Abbey by its more ancient name "de Sartis," due to its foundation on assart or essart (land newly broken out of wood or waste) at old Wardon; this style was the more appropriate, since the Cistercian monks were pre-eminently an agricultural fraternity, and many allusions to land which they assarted will be found in the Cartulary. Unlike Benedictines or Augustinians, the Cistercians do not seem to have made a practice of adding churches to their sources of revenue; the Dunstable Cartulary showed twenty-nine churches or chapels granted to the Priory, but in this Cartulary there is not a single case. Specially worthy of notice is the large number of charters which seems to belong to the last quarter of the twelfth century; in other similar collections the first quarter of the thirteenth century seems to have been the great period of monastic benefaction.

The volume consists of pp. vi, 418, three maps of the Abbey's chief holdings, and one facsimile. The size is Demy 8vo, and the price, in a cloth binding, is fifteen shillings net.



The present instalment of the "Woodbrooke Studies" consists of the Syriac text, and an English translation accompanied by critical apparatus by Dr. Mingana, of Dionysius Barsalibi's treatise against the Armenians, which adds much to our knowledge of early Christian controversies.

BARSALIBI  
AGAINST  
THE AR-  
MENIANS.

Barsalibi is at some pains to prove that the body of Christ as a human body was corruptible till the time of His death, but that the body of the dead and risen Christ is, and will remain for ever, incorruptible; and in this connection he refutes the doctrines of the Phantasiasts and the Docetes.

The main theme of the work is an exposition and refutation of the uncanonical customs and habits of the Armenians.

Manuscripts containing this treatise are so rare that the principal authority for Syriac literature, Dr. A. Baumstark, in his "Geschichte der Syrischen Literatur" (1922), is unable to locate a single copy. The manuscript from which the present text is reproduced was discovered quite recently by Dr. Mingana in one of his Eastern journeys.

The publication some months since of the third and concluding part of the second volume of, what must now be described as, the Moulton-Howard *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, furnishes us with the opportunity of offering to Dr. Howard our hearty congratulations upon the service to New Testament scholarship which he has rendered in thus undertaking the difficult task of continuing the work which his tutor and friend, Professor James Hope Moulton, had left in an advanced but unfinished state at the time of his tragic death in 1917.

MOULTON-  
HOWARD'S  
GRAMMAR  
OF N. T.  
GREEK.

It also serves as a reminder of that saintly scholar and gentleman, James Hope Moulton, whose life and work was cut short with such tragic suddenness, when he fell a victim to a war against which his whole being revolted.

Nearly thirty years have elapsed since Dr. Moulton came to Manchester (in 1902) to fill the post at Didsbury College of Tutor in New Testament Exegesis, Classics, and other studies. Our excuse for recalling these events is that from the time of his coming to Manchester he took a deep interest in the affairs of the Rylands Library, being at once appointed to a seat on the Council of Governors. His advice and assistance were constantly sought by the writer, and

never without advantage to the institution and its readers. As a lecturer he was always ready to place his rich store of learning at the service of the public in a form at once attractive and illuminating, and for many years in succession he was a valued contributor to the Rylands series of lectures. It was in the course of one of these lectures dealing with the Egyptian rubbish heaps that he described the language of the Holy Ghost, and the Greek of the New Testament, as "in reality just the language of the common people." He revelled in searching in the various collections of papyri, including those in Rylands, for matter which would be of service for the better understanding of the language of the New Testament. The results of these researches are embodied in the *Vocabulary of New Testament Greek* which he commenced to publish in collaboration with his friend Professor George Milligan, of Glasgow, who was left to complete it single-handed.

In 1905 Dr. Moulton published the first instalment, "The Prolegomena," of his *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, upon which he had been engaged for some years. It is true that the foundation of his work was his father's English translation of Winer's *Grammar of New Testament Greek* (1870), but this work, as his father had already recognised, needed to be recast and rewritten. It was to James Hope Moulton, equipped as he was with modern Hellenistic scholarship, that this task was left as a sacred legacy, and it was upon the foundation bequeathed to him by his father that he built an entirely new work.

Dr. Moulton had the power of breathing life into the dry bones of grammar. In his introductory volume he did not give us the grammar proper; that was to follow. Dr. Deissmann, in speaking of it at the time of publication, says: "the notion that a grammar can only be solid if it is tedious is altogether destroyed by these 'Prolegomena'; one can really *read* Moulton, for he does not drown us in a flood of quotations." Professor Thumb declared that: "we have nothing to equal it in German," and Harnack spoke of the author as: "our foremost expert in New Testament Greek."

In Manchester Moulton's scholarship was recognised by his appointment, in 1908, to the Greenwood Chair of Hellenistic Greek and Indo-European Philology.

Of the two things that Moulton sought to know well, the one was

New Testament Greek, which attracted him pre-eminently ; the other was comparative religion, which brought him into touch with Dr. Williams Jackson and Bishop Casartelli, through whom he came into that deep interest in Iranian studies which characterised him to the very last.

In 1912 he took Zoroastrianism as the subject for his Hibbert Lectures ; and in October, 1915, he went out to India for a year to study some of the problems of education and of religion. Whilst there the Parsee community in Bombay invited him to lecture to them on Zoroastrianism and Christianity. It was on the return voyage, in April, 1917, that he fell a victim to submarine warfare in the Mediterranean, and succumbed to the hardship of three stormy days spent at sea in an open boat.

Before sailing for India Moulton had the phonology and accidence of the second volume of his Grammar almost entirely ready for the press, and it was one of his own Didsbury men, Wilbert F. Howard, to whom was entrusted the difficult task of continuing the unfinished work. No one could have been better qualified for the task, for he had caught the spirit and intention of his tutor and friend, and like him was not merely a Greek scholar but a trained philologist as well. He proceeded to publish the parts which were already complete : the general introduction, with the section on pronunciation and spelling in 1919 ; and the accidence in 1920. For the third part : the section on the formation of compounds (pp. 268-332) was extant in Moulton's manuscript, but the section on suffixes (pp. 332-410) and the appendix on Semitisms are the work of Howard.

Many other Grammars of New Testament Greek have been published from time to time, beginning with that of Winer in 1822, most of which are the outcome of the papyrus discoveries of recent years, and it is to the lasting credit of Dr. Deissmann that he brought the stimulus of these new researches to the study of the language of the New Testament, and in this respect Moulton was his most devoted follower.

One writer has justly pointed out that hitherto in all the grammars the section on word-formation has come off too scantily, and that it is just in this section that Moulton-Howard is to be welcomed as a most acceptable filling of the gap, with 144 pages, as compared with 12 pages in Blass and 32 pages in Robertson. Another feature for



which theologians will be grateful to Howard, is the appendix of Semitisms which Moulton had contemplated, and which embraces a long list of all the linguistic phenomena in the most varied departments of grammar. There was a time when the belief, fairly widely current, was that Biblical Greek was a species of Jewish Greek, essentially different from other Greek. Howard discusses every single linguistic phenomena suspected of Semitism, but also collects together passages from the Gospels, the Acts, and the Apocalypse in which the attempt has been made to explain textual difficulties as misunderstandings of a Semitic original.

The volume is furnished with three indices : of passages, of words, and of subjects, filling 55 pages, which greatly facilitate reference.

The syntax has not yet been treated systematically, although Moulton in the Prolegomena has treated of the most important problems. It is to be hoped that Dr. Howard will be able to supply this deficiency, and so make of the "Moulton-Howard" a complete grammar of New Testament Greek.

Whilst congratulating Dr. Howard upon his achievement, we desire to express to the publishers, Messrs. T<sub>1</sub> and T. Clark, our grateful appreciation of the very generous assistance they have lent to this enterprise of scholarship, which, although unremunerative financially, reflects very great credit upon the house.

We welcome the news of the formation of the new society of "Friends of the National Libraries," which was formally inaugurated on the 21st of April, in the rooms of the British Academy, and is a natural ally of the National Art Collections Fund.

FRIENDS  
OF THE  
NATIONAL  
LIBRARIES.

There are great possibilities of usefulness of a national character before such a society, if only those who are in sympathy with its aims will rally to its support.

Its main purpose is to create the machinery and to raise the necessary funds with which to assist the governing bodies of the national libraries (and we are glad to note that the term "national" is not to be interpreted in any strict or narrow sense, but is to be understood to cover libraries owned by public bodies other than the nation, such as the Rylands Library) to fill gaps in the national

collections, and to secure printed books and manuscripts of special interest and rarity, especially those of English origin, which may come into the market and be in danger of transportation overseas.

It is true, as one writer has pointed out, that there will be some private collectors who will always favour the highest bidder, from whatever country he may come, but we are persuaded that the majority of such collectors would be content to accept a lower price if they could have the assurance that the treasured possessions, with which they may be compelled to part, were to be secured for all time against the risk of transportation, and it is to be hoped that owners who desire to part with such treasures will acquaint the officials of the new society of their intention, and so give them an opportunity of entering into negotiations for their acquisition.

It will be the business of the "Friends of the National Libraries" to keep themselves, as far as possible, informed of what is likely to come into the market, and to take immediate steps to retain in the country whatever they feel to be desirable.

Had this Society been in existence when the question of the disposal of the Caxtons and other printed books belonging to the Library of York Minster was under consideration, we should have been spared the disquieting feeling that what we should have regarded as trust property had been secretly sold to an American firm of booksellers.

Should the Dean and Chapter at any time entertain the sale of the manuscripts belonging to the Minster, we venture to express the hope that they will communicate with the Secretary of the "Friends of the National Libraries" before taking any other steps in the matter.

The minimum subscription to the "Friends of the National Libraries" is one guinea, but larger sums will be gratefully accepted. Any further information may be obtained on application to the Honorary Secretary, Friends of National Libraries, c/o The British Museum, Bloomsbury, London, W.C. 1.

The following is a preliminary list of public lectures, by scholars of recognized authority in their various departments of study, which have been arranged for the ensuing session, 1931-1932.

LIBRARY  
LECTURES.

Wednesday, 14th October, 1931. "The Taming of the Shrew."  
By H. B. Charlton, M.A., Professor of English Literature in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 18th November, 1931. "The Gospel Parables." By C. H. Dodd, M.A., D.D., Rylands Professor of Biblical Exegesis and Criticism in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 9th December, 1931. "Etruscan Influence on Italian Religion." By R. S. Conway, Litt.D., D.Litt., Dott.-on-Univ., F.B.A., Professor Emeritus of the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 13th January, 1932. "The Origins of Modern Man." By H. J. Fleure, D.Sc., Professor of Geography in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 10th February, 1932. "Two Lives of Archbishop Chichele." By E. F. Jacob, M.A., D.Phil., Professor of Medieval History in the University of Manchester.

The following list represents a selection of the works of current literature acquired during the six months which have elapsed since the publication of our last issue.

ART: "THE ART OF EGYPT through the ages: a survey of the whole evolution of Egyptian art from prehistoric to Mohammedan times, edited by Sir E. Denison Ross," 300 plates, 8vo; BERENSON (B.), "The Italian Painters of the Renaissance with indices of their works: Venetian, Florentine, Central Italian and North Italian," 4 vols., 8vo; BORDONA (J. D.), "Spanish illumination," 160 plates in collotype, 2 vols., 4to; COCKERELL (Sidney C.), "The work of W. de Brailes, an English illuminator of the 13th century" (Roxburghe Club), Folio; "CORPUS Vasorum antiquorum: Bologna Museo Civico 2, British Museum 5-6, Cambridge 1, Espagne 1, Grèce 1, 6 fascs., 4to; EMANUEL (F. L.), "Etching and etchers: a guide to technique and to print collecting," 8vo; EVANS (John), "Pattern: a study of ornament in Western Europe from 1180 to 1900," 2 vols., 4to; EUSTRATIADES (S.), "La Vierge dans l'hymnographie." (In Greek), 4to; FILOW (B. D.), "Les miniatures de la chronique de Manasses à la Bibliothèque du Vatican (Cod. Vat. Slav. ii.)," Folio; FINBERG (A. J.), "In Venice with Turner. Illustrated with 45 reproductions of oil-paintings, water-colours, etc., of Venice by Turner," Folio; HARINGTON (Edward), "A schizzo on the genius of man in which among other various subjects the merit of Mr. Thomas Barker, the celebrated young painter of Bath, is considered," Bath, 1793, 8vo; KUHN (C. L.), "Roman-

RECENT  
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SIONS TO  
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esque mural painting of Catalonia," 4to ; "MONUMENTS de l'art Byzantin, 6 : Les églises de la Moldavie du Nord, des origines à la fin du 16<sup>m</sup>e siècle, architecture et peinture," 2 vols., Folio ; POPE (A. Upham), "A survey of Persian art from prehistoric times to the present," 3 vols., 4to ; ROSS (Sir Denison) and others, "Persian art : published for the International Exhibition," 8vo ; ROTHENSTEIN (Wm.), "Men and memories : recollections, 1872-1900," 8vo ; STOW (W. G.) and BLECK (D. F.), "Rock painting in South Africa from parts of the Eastern Province and Orange Free State," 72 plates, 4to ; WALPOLE SOCIETY, "Publications, vol. 18 (1929-30) : Vertue notebooks, vol. 1," Folio.

BIBLIOGRAPHY : BUSTICO (G.), "Bibliografia di Giuseppe Parini," 8vo ; BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, "Catalogue général des livres imprimés, tomes 98-103 : Liell-Maisner," 6 vols., 8vo ; "CATALOGUE of the Arabic and Persian manuscripts in the Oriental Library of Bankipur," vols. 16-18, 3 vols., 8vo ; "CATALOGUE of the Arabic manuscripts in the India Office," vol. 2 (1) ; Qur'anic Literature by G. A. Storey, 8vo ; "CATALOGUE of the Persian, Turkish, Hindustani, and Pushtu manuscripts in the Bodleian Library," Part 2 : Turkish, Hindustani, etc., 8vo ; CLARK (Ch. Upson), "Collectanea Hispanica, with 70 plates of facsimiles of Visigothic manuscripts," 8vo ; DALBANNE (C.) and DROZ (E.), "L'imprimerie à Vienne en Dauphine au 15<sup>e</sup> siècle (Documents typographiques du 15<sup>e</sup> siècle, 2)," 4to ; EDWARDS (E.), "Catalogue of the Persian printed books in the British Museum," 1922, 4to ; EUSTRATIADES (S.), "Catalogue des manuscrits de Skythe-Kausokalivea au Mont-Athos." (In Greek) 4to ; FAVA (D.), "Catalogo degli incunabuli della R. Bibl. Estense de Modena," 8vo ; "FEST-SCHRIFT für Georg Leidinger, Direktor der Bay. Staatsbibliothek zum 60 Geburtstag," 8vo ; GABRIELI (G.), "Manoscritti e carte orientali nelle Biblioteche e negli archivi d'Italia," 8vo ; HESSE (R.), "Histoire des sociétés de bibliophiles en France de 1820 à 1930." 2 vols., 8vo ; JAMES (M. R.) and JENKINS (C.), "A descriptive catalogue of the MSS. in the Library of Lambeth Palace," parts 1-2 : nos. 1-202, 8vo ; MAZZATINTI (G.) and MENGHINI (M.), "Bibliografia Leopardiana. Parte 1 : fino al 1898," 8vo ; RANSOM (Will), "Private presses and their books," 8vo ; SCHRAMM (A.), "Der Bilderschmuck der Frühdrucke, Band 18 : Die Drucker in Leipzig und Erfurt,"

Folio ; SIMMONS (C. H.), "A bibliography of John Masefield," 8vo ; SIMON (G.) and Rodenberg (J.), "Printing of to-day," 1928, 8vo ; SINGER (D. W.), "Catalogue of Latin and vernacular alchemical manuscripts in Great Britain and Ireland dating from before the 16th century," 2 vols., 8vo ; SORBELLI (A.), "Opuscoli stampe alla macchia e fogli volanti riflettenti il pensiero politico Italiano (1830-1835)," 8vo ; VALVERDE DEL BARRIO (C.), "Catalogo de incunables y libros raros de la Santa Iglesia Cathedral de Segovia." 8vo.

HISTORY AND ARCHÆOLOGY : "ACTA ARCHÆOLOGICA. Ediderunt Axel Boethius, Roma ; A. W. Brogger, Oslo ; and a number of other northern scholars. Redigenda curavit J. Brondsted, Copenhagen," vol. 1, 8vo ; ADAMS (J. T.), "The Adams family," 8vo ; AILLY (Pierre d'), "Ymago mundi. Texte latin et trad. française des quatre traités cosmographiques . . . et des notes marginales de C. Colomb, édité par E. Biron," 3 vols., 8vo ; ALTAMIRA (R.), "A history of Spanish civilisation . . . Transl. by P. Volkov," 8vo ; AMARI (M.), "Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia. Seconda edizione . . . riveduta da l'autore," vol. 1, 8vo ; ANDRAE (W.), "Kultrelief aus dem Brunnen des Asurtempels zu Assur," Folio ; ASHDOWN (M.), "English and Norse documents relating to the reign of Ethelred the Unready," 8vo ; BARBIER (Jean), "Légendes du Pays-Basque," 8vo ; BEALES (A. C. F.), "The history of peace (Tracing the evolution of the idea of international peace)," 8vo ; BERTHIER (J.) and LAUVERNIER (C.), "Tableaux d'histoire générale : presentation synchrone des principaux événements contemporains à travers les siècles," Obl. Folio ; BOLSÉE (J.), "La grande enquête de 1389 en Brabant," 8vo ; BIDEZ (J.), "La vie de l'empereur Julien," 8vo ; BRINTON (C. C.), "The Jacobins : an essay in the new history," 8vo ; BURGHCLERE (Lady), "Strafford," 2 vols., 8vo ; CAETANI (L.), "Cosmographia Islamica ossia riassunto cronologico . . . (622-1517) dell'era volgare," Folio ; CAMEAU (E.), "La Provence à travers les siècles, 4 : Le règne des princes Angevins, Papes et antipapes en Avignon, Les Juifs en Provence, etc," 8vo ; "CASINENSIA : Miscellanea di studi Cassinesi pubblicata in occasione del 14 centenario della Fondazione della Badia di Monte Cassino," 2 vols., Folio ; "CATALONIA MONASTICA : recueil de documents i estudis referents a monestirs Catalans," 2 vols., 4to ; CHANNING (E.), "History of the United States," 6 vols., 8vo ;

"CONWAY LETTERS: the correspondence of Anne Viscountess Conway, Henry More, and their friends, 1642-1684, collected from MS. sources and edited by M. H. Nicholson," 8vo; "CORPUS Nummorum Italicorum, tom. 12: Toscana," 4to; CRAWLEY (C. W.), "The question of Greek Independence: a study of British policy in the Near East, 1821-1833," 8vo; CREWE (Marquess of), "Lord Roseberry," 2 vols., 8vo; CUQ (E.), "Etudes sur le droit Babylonien: les lois Assyriennes et les lois Hittites," 8vo; DALMAN (Gustaf), "Arbeit und Sitte in Palaestina," 2 vols., Folio; DALMAN (Gustaf), "Hundert deutsche Fliegerbilder aus Palaestina," Folio; "DICTIONARY of American Biography, vols. 1-6: A.—Fraser," 6 vols., 8vo; DREYFUS (R.), "La république de Monsieur Thiers (1871-1873)," 8vo; DUGDALE (E. T. S.), "German diplomatic documents, vol. 4: The descent of the abyss, 1911-1914," 8vo; ESPÉRANDIEU (E.), "Recueil générale des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Germanie Romaine," 8vo; FAGG (C. C.) and HUTCHINGS (G. E.), "An introduction to regional surveying," 8vo; FARNHAM (G. F.), "Charnwood Forest and its historians, and the Charnwood Manors," 8vo; FRANCIS (G. R.), "Mary of Scotland, 1561-1568: being the tragedy of the seven years of Mary Stuart's life in her kingdom of Scotland," 8vo; FRANK (T.), "Roman imperialism," 8vo; FREMANTLE (A. F.), "England in the 19th century (1806-1810)," 8vo; GABOREY (E.), "L'Angleterre et la Vendée d'après les documents inédits," 2 vols., 8vo; GANAHL (K. H.), "Studien zur Verfassungsgeschichte der Klosterherrschaft St. Gallen," 8vo; GEIKIE (R.) and MONTGOMERY (I. A.), "The Dutch Barrier, 1705-1719," 8vo; GRENIER (A.), "Manuel d'archéologie Gallo-Romaine," 8vo; GROUSSET (R.), "Les civilisations de l'Orient, tome 4: Le Japon," 8vo; HALL (H. R.), "Coptic and Greek texts of the Christian period from Ostraka, Stelæ, etc., in the British Museum," 100 plates, Folio; HALKIN (J.) and ROLAND (C. G.), "Recueil des chartes de l'Abbaye de Stavelot-Malmedy," 2 vols., 4to; HOLTZMANN (W.), "Papsturkunden in England, 1: Bibliotheken und Archive in London," 8vo; HULL (Eleanor), "A history of Ireland, vol. 2: From Tudor times to the present day," 8vo; HURRY (J. B.), "The woad plant and its dye," 8vo; "The HUSKISSON PAPERS, 1792-1830, edited by Lewis Melville," 8vo; HUXLEY (Julian), "Africa view (deals with the more vital problems affecting Africa to-day)," 8vo; "INDIAN STATUTORY



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## PASCAL THE WRITER.<sup>1</sup>

By S. ALEXANDER, O.M., F.B.A.

HONORARY PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF  
MANCHESTER.

PASCAL, who was the inventor of the modern omnibus, anticipated also the extremely common modern habit of wearing a watch on the left wrist. He compares 'those who judge a work by feeling rather than by some rule to those who do not possess watches in their estimate of the time. One says it has been two hours, the other says, only three quarters of an hour. I look at my watch and say to the first, you are bored, and to the other you hardly notice the time; for it has been an hour and a half, and I laugh at those who say that time is my time and that I judge its duration by fancy: they do not know that I judge time by my watch' (5, 137).<sup>2</sup> All the same, as Mr. Brunschvicg points out in his note on this passage, Pascal himself would insist that while precision in estimating time can be secured only by the watch, which is an invention of reason, time itself, the idea of time, is not given to us by reason but by intuition, like all the fundamental principles—categories people are nowadays apt to say—such as space or time or number or movement. All such parts of our experience we receive through what Pascal calls the heart, as in the famous saying, 'the heart has its reasons which reason does not know.' Reason pursues with precision and order the ideas which are supplied from elsewhere. Pascal himself is a model of the union in a writer of precision and order, the *esprit de géométrie*, and the delicate adjustment of words and thought to the subject, which he calls *justesse*.

<sup>1</sup> Address given at the John Rylands Library on the 15th April, 1931.

<sup>2</sup> References are to the smaller edition of the *Pensées* by Mr. Brunschvicg. At the same time the marginal numbers of the passage in the original edition as given by Mr. Brunschvicg are noted after his number.

It is a commonplace that he belongs to the great masters of literature ; and perhaps few would quarrel with the proposition, which I venture in my ignorance of general literature, that he is the greatest master of prose since Plato. Perhaps I should say the greatest master known to me since Plato. The comparison with Plato is obvious. The earlier *Provincial Letters* in which the writer records his visits to the several representatives of learned doctrine, Molinist, Thomist, Jansenist, and ironically sets their answers about the question of grace in relation to the Jansenist doctrine which he represents himself, recall the delightful comedy and irony of some of Plato's earlier dialogues, especially the *Euthydemus*. And then as the argument deepens and irony and playfulness are succeeded by the deadly tearing off the mask from the Jesuit books of casuistry, until at last he breaks out into direct and passionate invective, you are reminded of Plato's passionate attacks upon democracy in the *Republic*, and on the Sophists there and in the more famous pictures of the Sophist in the *Gorgias* and the *Theætetus*. Plato's passion is indeed always under control and cloaked by an even urbaner irony than Pascal possessed. And the great passages in Plato upon philosophy and love, or rather upon philosophy as the highest form of love, are not unfitting exemplars in their beauty and elevation of thought of the more impassioned passages of the *Pensées*, such as those which show how the wretchedness of man's condition and his greatness in knowing his own weakness culminate in the knowledge of God as set forth in Christianity, or the sublime earlier description of the two infinities, which I shall presently quote. Both writers illustrate how hard it may be to define the limits in such exalted passages between prose and poetry, harder when we think of Plato than, as I shall try to show, when we think of Pascal.

Pascal is a great master of the natural style, and even of what is called the plain style, simple and unadorned, of which our own best example is Swift. He does not appear to have been a student of literature, except of Montaigne and except that he knew Descartes, who was one of the influences in making classical French prose, of which Pascal himself is generally acknowledged to be the consummate master. In clearness and precision he must have been helped by his studies in mathematics and physics ; and he possessed by natural gift the unself-consciousness which is the prerequisite of the highest art. Whether by nature or habit, he had acquired the power of saying things in the

simplest possible manner, with exact accommodation to the needs of the subject, which is characteristic of the "universal" manner, so that his greatness as a writer is as manifest to the stranger as to his own countrymen, and no intimacy with French literature is required of me to accept the judgment upon him of an expert historian of French literature like Mr. G. Lanson. His perfection of style, though it would seem to have been spontaneous with him, was by no means without labour, witness his own famous saying about one of the 'provincials' which had been very long, that he could have made it shorter if he had had more time. And the manuscript of the *Pensées* is scored with corrections. These great artists who talk ordinary language exquisitely are not the less artists because they seem to write at ease. Yet in thinking of Pascal we can never forget that his limpid style was the work of a mind, subtle indeed and complex, but utterly sincere, and so much a creature of natural beauty as makes it difficult to speak of him in measured terms of admiration. I feel myself unequal to the task of describing him as a thinker or as a religious teacher,<sup>1</sup> and am limiting myself to speaking of him as a creator of great literature, which any one who fails to appreciate, because repelled perhaps by his austerity and melancholy or by the now hopeless anachronism of his theological learning, is self-condemned.

Pascal has himself in the first section of the *Pensées* given his ideas of the natural style. It partakes both of the *esprit de géométrie* and the *esprit de finesse*. The distinction is well known, but I must quote it (I, 405). 'In the one the principles are palpable, but remote from common usage; so that it is hard to turn one's head to that side, from want of habit; but however little one does so, one sees the principles in full; and one would need to have a quite perverse mind (*l'esprit faux*) to reason ill upon principles so gross that they can hardly possibly escape one. But in the *esprit de finesse* the principles are in common use and before the eyes of every one. One has not to turn one's head or do oneself violence; the only need is to have good sight, but one must have it good; for the principles are so minute (*deliés*) and so numerous, that some of them can hardly avoid escaping one. Now the omission of a principle leads to error; thus one must have very clear sight to see all the principles involved, and, next, one must

<sup>1</sup>I may refer to the excellent book of Mr. Clement Webb, *Pascal's Philosophy of Religion*, Oxford, 1929.

have insight (*l'esprit juste*) not to reason wrongly upon known principles. Geometers who are nothing but geometers have correct minds, provided only that everything is explained to them by definitions and principles; otherwise they are perverse and unbearable, for they only keep straight and correct upon well-explained principles. And fine minds which are nothing else have not the patience to descend into the first principles of things of speculation and imagination, which they have not seen in the world and which are outside of common use.' Pascal himself, so far as we are concerned with him here, is, as said above, a geometer in respect of his order and precision, but he is more particularly an *esprit fin*. 'True eloquence,' he says (15, 130), 'consists in establishing a correspondence between the mind and heart of the persons to whom one is speaking on one side, and on the other the thoughts and expressions which one uses; which supposes a previous study of man's heart in order to know the springs of its action, and to discover next the proper proportions of the discourse to be adjusted to them. We must put ourselves in the place of those who are to hear us and make a trial on our own heart of the turn we give to our discourse, to see if the one is made for the other and if we can feel sure that the hearer will be as it were compelled to surrender. We must constrain ourselves as much as possible within what is simply natural; not make big what is small, nor small what is big. It is not enough that a thing should be beautiful, it must be suitable to the subject, with nothing too much and nothing wanting.' Or again, 'There is a certain model of beauty and agreeableness which consists in a certain ratio between our nature, weak or strong as it may be, and the thing which pleases us' (32, \*129). He laughs at so-called 'poetic beauty' which decks out its object with superfluous ornaments. 'Imagine a woman on this pattern, which consists in saying small things with big words: you will see a pretty girl covered with chains and glasses (*miroirs*), and will laugh at her, because you know better in what consists the agreeableness of a woman than the agreeableness of verses. But the inexpert would admire her in this array; and there are villages which would take her for the Queen' (33, \*129). Hence (29, 427) 'when we see the natural style we are astonished and delighted; for we expected to see an author and we find a man.' Those who speak or write thus are universal persons, the *honnêtes gens*: they carry no badge of poet or mathematician; these talk the language of cultivated



men. And the natural style in writing is the same. It is 'the manner of Epictetus, of Montaigne, and of Salomon de Tultie' [that is the supposed author of the *Provincial Letters*] (18, \*443).

The inimitable ease and force and urbanity of the *Provincials* I cannot find short passages to illustrate by. With the *Pensées* the difficulty is the opposite. I read a few passages almost at random :

On *Diversion* (139, 133). How is it that this man who lost a few months ago his only son and who, overwhelmed with lawsuits and quarrels, was this morning so disturbed, thinks of it no more now? Be not astonished; he is entirely occupied in watching where the boar will pass, which the dogs have been pursuing with such ardour these six hours. Nothing more is needed. However full a man be of sorrow, if you can prevail upon him to enter into some amusement, he is happy for that time; and a man, however happy he may be, if he is not distracted and occupied by some passion or diversion which prevents ennui from extending, will soon be sore and unhappy. Without distraction there is no joy, with it there is no sorrow (217). And it is this which constitutes the happiness of persons of great condition, that they have a number of persons to amuse them, and that they can maintain themselves in this state.

Or this, which calls up to mind a celebrated passage of Newman's *Apologia* :

(693, 1). Seeing the blindness and wretchedness of man, beholding all the universe dumb, and man without light, left to himself, and as it were astray in this corner of the universe, without knowing who has set him there, what he is come there to do, and what will become of him when he dies without the capacity of any knowledge, I fall into terror as a man who should have been carried asleep into a desert and terrible island and should wake up without knowing where he is and without means of going away. And thereupon I wonder how one does not fall into despair at so wretched an estate. I see others near me of like nature; I ask them if they are better furnished with knowledge than I; they say no; and thereupon these wretched strays look around them and seeing some amusing objects give themselves up and attach themselves to these. For myself, I can make no such attachment, and considering how much more probable it is that there is something else than what I see, I have enquired whether this God would not have left some sign of himself.

I see many religions contrary to each other and consequently all false except one. Each claims its own authority for belief and threatens unbelievers. I do not believe them in this. Any one may say so, any one may call himself prophet. But I see the Christian religion in which there are actual prophecies, and this is not a thing that any one can do.

(550, 194) I love poverty, because He loved it. I love money because it gives the means of helping the wretched. I keep faith with every one, I do not return evil to those who do me evil; but I desire for them a condition like my own, receiving from men neither good nor evil. I endeavour to be just, true, sincere and faithful to all; and I have an affection for those to whom God has united me more nearly; and whether I am alone or in sight of men I have before me in all my actions the sight of God, who will judge them, and to whom I have consecrated them all.

Such are my feelings, and all the days of my life I bless my Redeemer who has implanted them in me, and who out of a man full of weakness and wretchedness, of concupiscence, pride and ambition, has made a man exempt from all these evils by the power of his grace, to which all the praise of it is owing, for I have from myself nothing but wretchedness and error.

The general rhythm of Pascal's style is long and continuous, but it is diversified by pithy sentences of wit or passion. Sometimes they light up the sombre atmosphere of the *Pensées* with blinding flashes. 'The eternal silence of these infinite spaces terrifies me' (206, Copie 101); '*gloire et rebut de l'univers*' (pride and refuse of the universe) which should be read in its context; 'Judge of all things, imbecile earthworm; depository of truth, sewer of uncertainty and error; pride and refuse of the universe.' These sayings have a lyric cry, and we may add to them the famous 'Be comforted, you would not seek me if you had not already found me' (553, 89). There is the terrible 'naturally that will bring you faith and stupefy you (*cela vous fera croire et vous abêtira*)' about following the practices of religion—masses and holy water, after accepting the argument of the wager (233, 3). There are others less charged with emotion but heavy with thought. Such are 'Man is but a reed, the weakest in nature; but a thinking reed,' where again the whole context is needed for the effect. It goes on: 'It needs not that the whole universe be in arms to crush him; a vapour, a drop of water suffices to kill him. But though the universe should crush him, man would be still more noble than his slayer, for he knows that he dies, and as for the advantage which the universe has over him, the universe knows nothing of it' (347, 63). Other passages have by their felicity or profundity become so familiar that we forget their origin: 'if Cleopatra's nose had been shorter, the whole face of the earth would have been different' (162, 487); 'Truth this side of the Pyrenees, error on the other side' (294, 23)—on the relativity of human justice.

Some of these passages illustrate the two salient features of Pascal's mind as it is expressed in the *Pensées*: his scepticism or Pyrrhonism as a thinker, and his religious fervour which resolves the perplexity and doubt into which he is thrown by his contemplation of the misery and the greatness of man. But I am not concerned with the substance of Pascal but with his style. It is the plain or natural style, but full of imagination and vivid in its presentation of things. If any one fancies that the plain style does not admit imagination, he need only remember the charm of Berkeley (whom, by the way, Mr. Saintsbury takes to be the chief of our prose writers in English), or that Swift on occasion is both pictorial and eloquent. I will read two passages of Swift to point this statement. The first is a famous piece in *Gulliver* (p. 1571), the second one from the *Tale of a Tub* (p. 61).

For I remember very well, in a discourse one day with the king, when I happened to say there were several thousand books among us written upon the art of self-government, it gave him (directly contrary to my intention) a very mean opinion of our understandings. He professed both to abominate and despise all mystery, refinement, and intrigue, whether in a prince or a minister. He could not tell what I meant by secrets of state, where an enemy, or some rival nation, were not in the case. He confined the knowledge of governing within very narrow bounds, to common sense and reason, to justice and lenity, to the speedy determination of civil and criminal causes; with some other obvious topics, which are not worth considering. And he gave it for his opinion, that whoever could make two ears of corn, or blades of grass, to grow upon a spot of ground where only one grew before, would deserve better of mankind, and do more essential service to his country, than the whole race of politicians put together.

The worshippers of this deity had also a system of their belief, which seemed to turn upon the following fundamentals. They held the universe to be a large suit of clothes, which invests everything: that the earth is invested by the air; the air is invested by the stars; and the stars are invested by the *primum mobile*. Look on this globe of earth, you will find it to be a very complete and fashionable dress. What is that which some call land, but a fine coat faced with green?, or the sea, but a waistcoat of water tabby? Proceed to the particular works of the creation, you will find how curious journeyman Nature has been to trim up the vegetable beaux; observe how sparkish a periwig adorns the head of a beech, and what a fine doublet of white satin is worn by the birch. To conclude from all, what is man himself but a micro-coat, or rather a complete suit of clothes with all its trimmings? as to his body there can be no dispute; but examine even the acquirements of his mind, you will find them all contribute in their order towards furnishing out an exact dress: to instance no more; is not religion a cloak, honesty a pair of

shoes worn out in the dirt, self-love a surtout, vanity a shirt, and conscience a pair of breeches, which though a cover for lewdness as well as for nastiness, is easily slipt down for the service of both?

They are both full of satire in their several ways, but they serve to show how the plain style can vary even in a man like Swift who does not rank especially among the poets. But Pascal's writing is of a higher order, if only because he had the exaltation which Swift lacked. I will quote part of the passage on the two infinities :—

This is where natural knowledge leads us. If it is not true, there is no truth in man; if it is true, he has in it a great ground of humiliation, compelled as he is in one or other manner to feel his abasement. And he cannot live without believing it. I wish before he enters into larger inquiries into nature that he should for once consider nature seriously and at leisure, that he should also see himself and knowing what proportion he bears . . . Let him then contemplate all nature in her full and exalted majesty, removing his eyes from the mean objects which surround him. Let him regard this brilliant light, set like an eternal lamp to illumine the universe; let him see the earth as a point in comparison of the vast orbit which this star describes, and think with astonishment that this orbit is but a very delicate point compared with that which the stars that roll in the firmament comprehend. But if our sight stop there, let imagination go out beyond; it will rather weary in conceiving than nature in supplying. All this visible world is but an imperceptible spot in the ample bosom of nature. No idea approaches it. In vain we make big our conceptions till they reach beyond imaginable spaces, we do but produce atoms in comparison of the reality of things. It is a sphere whose centre is everywhere, whose circumference nowhere. And it is the greatest sensible mark of the omnipotence of God that our imagination is lost in this thought.

Let man return to himself and consider what he is in proportion of existence; regard himself as strayed into this remote corner of nature; and from this little hiding-place where he lurks (I think of the universe) let him learn to judge the earth, the kingdoms, the towns and himself at their just measure.

What is a man in the infinite?

But, that he may be aware of another prodigy as astounding, let him inquire into the most delicate things in what he knows. A mite will offer him in its small body parts infinitely smaller, limbs with joints, veins in its limbs, blood in its veins, humours in this blood, drops in these humours, vapours in these drops; let him divide up these last things again and exhaust his powers in such conceptions until the last object he can reach becomes the object we are speaking of; he will think perhaps that he has reached the extremest minuteness in nature. I will make him see therein a new abyss; I will paint for him within the circuit of this tiny atom not only the visible universe, but the immensity of what we can conceive in nature. He shall see therein an infinity of universes, each of which has



its firmament, its planets, its earth, in the same proportion as the visible world : in that earth animals and mites in which he shall find once more what the first mites offered ; and finding again in the others the same thing without end and without rest, he shall be lost in these wonders as astounding in their smallness as the former ones by their largeness ; for who would not wonder if our body which before was almost not perceptible in the universe, imperceptible indeed in the bosom of the whole, should be now a colossus, a world or rather a whole, in comparison of the nothing which he fails to reach.

He who shall consider himself in this fashion will be terrified at himself, and, considering himself poised, in the mass nature has given him, between these two abysses of infinity and nothing, he will quail in view of these wonders ; and I think that his curiosity changing into astonishment, he will be rather disposed to contemplate them in silence than search them out with presumption.

For indeed what is man in nature ? A nothing in respect of the infinite, a whole in regard of the nothing, a mean between nothing and the whole. Infinitely far from comprehending the extremes, the purpose and the principle of things are shrouded for him in an impenetrable secrecy, incapable as he is of seeing either the nothing from which he proceeds or the infinite in which he is engulfed.

What will he do then except apprehend some appearance and mean of things, in an eternal despair of knowing either their principle or their end ? All things come from the nothing and are borne on to the infinite. Who shall follow these astounding steps ? The author of these wonders comprehends them. None other can. (72, 347).

Many would be inclined to say that this wonderful writing is, in spite of its prose form, poetry and the prose writing of a poet. And to two at least of the famous sentences I quoted before, ' *Le silence etc.*' and ' *Console toi, etc.*' it is difficult to deny the character of poetry. A French friend of my own, and a distinguished writer, declared to me that Pascal was not only the greatest French writer of prose, but the greatest French poet ; and I imagined at first that he might be using poetry as the name of all literary art, I mean writing which is not mere craft as most prose and much verse is, but in the strict sense art, and not merely skilful but beautiful.

But I understand that this is not ordinary French usage, as the word ' *Dichter*' is used in German for any imaginative writer ; and the proposition is staggering to one who thinks of Shakespeare as a supreme poet and Swift as a supreme prose writer. At any rate it is worth while, I think, to raise in respect of Pascal the old question of the difference between prose and poetry, for I shall plead that Pascal is not a poet, nor the great piece I have quoted the prose writing of

a really poetic nature. I do not mean merely that he does not write the hybrid thing called poetic prose or prose-poetry. Pascal himself would have scorned such an imputation—that it could be said of him what he quotes from Petronius (29, 427) *plus poetice quam humane locutus es* ('you have spoken rather as a poet than a man'). What I mean is that for all the glory which imagination and vividness may throw over his words, he remains what he claims to be. The passage does indeed come very near to poetry. But Plato, who is a far more imaginative writer, comes even nearer to poetry than Pascal and yet he writes prose. In reading the *Symposium* and the *Phædrus*, one asks if these speeches about love and philosophy are not really poetry written without metre and in the form of prose; and one has to recall that sometimes Plato is parodying Agathon and Aristophanes, who were poets. But Plato, as it happens, did write poems, and to be convinced that we are reading prose and not poetry in these two dialogues we need only compare them with the two famous epigrams which have come down to us as being from him (at any rate they are worthy of so great a man).

Once you shone among the living as the star of dawn, now that you are gone you shine among the dead as the evening star.

You gaze at the stars, my star; I would that I might become the heaven, to look at you with many eyes.

Could anyone doubt that this imperfect English is not prose but a translation of a poem, itself of Wordsworthian simplicity of diction, into the mere form of prose and not into the diction of prose; any more than he can feel the same doubt about passages in the Bible like "By the rivers of Babylon, etc."?

Contrast, before I pass on, the Pascal passage with Hamlet's famous lyrical outburst whose topic is almost precisely the same as that of the first paragraph quoted above:—

I have of late—but wherefore I know not—lost all my mirth, foregone all custom of exercises; and indeed it goes so heavily with my disposition that this goodly frame, the earth, seems to me a sterile promontory; this most excellent canopy, the air, look you, this brave overhanging firmament, this majestical roof fretted with golden fire, why, it appears no other thing to me but a foul and pestilent congregation of vapours. What a piece of work is man! How noble in reason! how infinite in faculty! in form, in moving, how express and admirable! in action how like an angel! in apprehension how like a god! the beauty of the

world! the paragon of animals! And yet to me what is this quintessence of dust? man delights not me; no, nor woman neither, though by your smiling you seem to say so (*Hamlet*, II., Sc. ii).

That is the work of a man who is a poet, and it is, I suppose, poetry, and if we ask why it is written in prose, the answer is (I borrow the observation) that Hamlet is playing a part to deceive his interlocutors. The speech is lyrical, but it is in prose form to suit the rest of the conversation. On the other hand, there would be no doubt that Pascal's lovely confession in the passage 550 quoted on page 322 is lovely prose but not lyrical, rather a statement of his feelings made for instruction of his reader.

I know that the difference of prose and poetry is almost insoluble in its difficulty. It might seem easiest to follow the Maitre de Philosophie in the *Bourgeois Gentilhomme* and say that 'What is not prose is verse and what is not verse is prose'—a mere difference in the form, metrical or unmetrical. But the answer is too easy. For in the first place there is the difference of diction, and Coleridge showed conclusively that even Wordsworth's diction, which Wordsworth took to be the diction of ordinary life and prose, is not really so, though it is true that sometimes in ordinary life men talk poetry because, as will be suggested later, they are not describing or expounding but are themselves, and talk as the bird sings out of the fullness of their life and passion, are in a word dramatic or lyrical. And in the second place the question still remains, what is it that makes one man adopt the form of prose and another that of poetry? Some have said, like Mr. H. Read, that the difference is one of quality, and I believe that this is true. But it does not follow that, as he thinks, it is indescribable, or that it cannot at least be brought home to the mind by attempts, however imperfect, at analysis, or at the worst, setting it in its due relation with other things.

It may be described, as some have thought, as a difference of purpose. The first virtue of prose, Sir A. Quiller-Couch says in the preface of his Oxford Book of English Prose, is persuasion; whether his description of the first virtue of poetry, as a high-compelling emotion, which he substitutes for Clutton-Brock's word love, is right or not is open to question, as indeed the whole place of the element of emotion in the arts is obscure. We may say, perhaps, that the prose writer explains, and the poet sings, as it were, to relieve his

soul. Perhaps these statements are true, and they are certainly helpful. But we should prefer to know what prose and poetry are rather than the differing motives of them, or what follows from their different natures. Now it is useful, I believe, to start from the vividness or imaginativeness which makes many think that highly imaginative prose is poetry, and to distinguish between the two in this very respect of vividness and imaginativeness. The prose writer may use all his arts to bring his subject before the reader's mind ; but it is one thing to exhibit a topic vividly to the mind so that the mind cannot help seeing it and believing it ; it is another thing to put the reader's mind actually into the reality he is describing, and that is what the poet does. The subject is not merely brought before the mind, but the mind is made to live in it, because the subject, whether a human being or daffodils or a flock of sheep that leisurely pass by one after one, or a battle, or Melrose Abbey, are depicted in their reality, as they live their own lives or live in themselves. The poet shares the life of what he describes and he communicates to us the life which he himself has shared.

In other words, for the statement is but a technical repetition, prose is analytical and gives a picture of what is described. Poetry is synthetical or if you prefer intuitive ; or better still it is concrete : it sees into the life of things, to borrow a famous phrase of Wordsworth. The objects of poetry are things as they exist, whether they are living things and live, or inanimate things which fulfil their destiny. You are not merely looking on at them, and seeing them clearly in consequence of the writer's skill ; they are dramatic and you live in their lives. Poetry creates a world and prose describes it. The differing purposes of the two follow from these essential characters. Prose persuades and instructs ; poetry is its own end and aim, it creates its object and has no thought of anything else. The varying choice of subjects and method of handling them are one alike with the purpose of the two and the motives from which they arise. Poetry has no aim beyond its own satisfaction, prose aims to enlighten.

Perhaps, however, we should rather say that the difference is relative and that in proportion as literature (for it is only literary art of which I speak) attains concreteness and the self-contained unity of concrete things it is poetic, and in proportion as it is content to analyse it is prose. The concreteness of poetry explains too why the poet



needs for his expression (and he is not a poet without expression in words) greater resources of technique in comparison with prose : for metre and rhyme are, as Coleridge showed, means whereby the unity is secured in the object to which the poet gives life or depicts in its actual life ; and poetic diction, in so far as it is genuine and not artificial, has the property of other magic that it helps to make real the world of things which the poet fashions to his own desires and makes us in turn desire.

The most satisfactory way to test these or any other suggestions of the kind is to set side by side with each other passages of acknowledged poetry and acknowledged prose whose subject matter is roughly identical, and note the difference of treatment of diction and how even the subject is altered in the two cases. I cannot do so here, but I propose to confirm my judgment of Pascal by contrasting with the *Pensées*, which so often approaches to poetry but remains prose, Robert Bridges' *Testament of Beauty* which so often approaches prose and sometimes actually falls into versified prose and yet is throughout poetry. I do not ask whether it belongs to great poetry, it is too near ourselves to judge its place as yet. I should not dare myself to value it so highly as some have done ; nor should I think it for a moment as great in poetry as Pascal's work in prose, for I remark that though poetry is a higher literature than prose, much poetry is inferior in greatness to much prose. But it is beautiful beyond question, and what is most to my purpose, though its subject is explicitly a philosophy, like the poem of Lucretius to which it is most easily comparable, and at the first blush recalcitrant to poetic treatment, it is beyond question poetry ; and my object is to ask why ; or rather to ask whether it conforms to the test which I have suggested.

Bridges' poem is long and it is didactic, and both these characters make the judgment of it difficult. A long poem cannot sustain itself always on the higher level. Inevitably it drops into mere verse. If this is true of the *Prelude* it is much more true of the *Testament of Beauty*, and it would be quite easy to quote passages of mere prose, passages, I mean, which except for the metre are indistinguishable from prose, especially in the fourth Book, where the poetic inspiration flags in comparison with the other three parts. I will quote one such passage merely for verification (III, 151).

Yet our distinction is proper and holdeth fast. Now BREED is to the race as SELFHOOD to the individual ; and these two prime instincts as they differ in purpose are independent each from other, and separate as are the organic tracts in the animal body whereby they function ; and tho' Breed is needful alike to plants as to animals, yet its apparatus is found in animals of a more special kind, and since race-propagation might have been assured without differentiation of sex, we are left to guess nature's intention from its full effects in man : and such matter is the first that will follow hereon.

(III, 151-162.)

I cite this merely, as I said, for verification of my statement, not for reproach. A long poem must be taken as a whole if we ask whether it is truly poetical : we judge by the unity and spirit of the whole. For a different reason we dare not judge by thinking only of the special passages of lyrical beauty, which abound in this poem as they abound in Lucretius. Even Bridges himself, somewhat unfairly I must think, seems to suggest that he cared for Lucretius not as the poet of the atomic theory of Epicurus but as the author of the glorious invocation to Venus and we might add of those other passages in which he rises to the height of the greatest poetry, like the picture of the cow whose calf has been taken from her for the sacrifice or that in which he deprecates the fear of death. It is neither by more obvious poetical triumph of selected parts, nor the obvious poetical falling short of other selected parts that the poem produces its effect.

So much for its length. As to the drawbacks which are supposed to arise from its philosophic character, fortunately I need not speak for myself. I have only to borrow the words of Mr. Santayana's study of Lucretius and of Dante in his *Three Philosophical Poets* (Harvard, 1910). Of Lucretius he writes (p. 34) :—

There remains the genius of the poet himself. The greatest thing about this genius is its power of losing itself in its object, its impersonality. We seem to be reading not the poetry of a poet about things, but the poetry of things themselves. That things have their poetry, not because of what we make them symbols of, but because of their own movement and life, is what Lucretius proves once for all to mankind.

In urging that the poet brings things before us in their own movement and life I have been saying for myself what Mr. Santayana has said so much better years ago.

Of the fitness of a philosophical or a scientific theory to be poetry he writes in a passage not every word of which I should accept (p. 124) :—

The life of theory is not less human or less emotional than the life of sense ; it is more typically human and more keenly emotional. Philosophy is a more intense sort of experience than common life is, just as pure and subtle music, heard in retirement, is something keener and more intense than the howling of storms or the rumble of cities. For this reason philosophy, when a poet is not mindless, enters inevitably into his poetry, since it has entered into his life ; or rather, the detail of things and the detail of ideas pass equally into his verse, when both alike lie in the path that has led him to his ideal. To object to theory in poetry would be like objecting to words there ; for words, too, are symbols without the sensuous character of the things they stand for ; and yet it is only by the net of new connections which words throw over things in recalling them, that poetry arises at all. Poetry is an attenuation, a rehandling, an echo of crude experience ; it is itself a theoretic vision of things at arm's length.

and again on p. 123, speaking of Dante's learning, he writes :—

Such a constant dragging in of astronomical lore may seem to us puerile or pedantic ; but for Dante the astronomical situation had the charm of a landscape, literally full of the most wonderful lights and shadows ; and it also had the charm of a hardwon discovery that unveiled the secrets of nature. To think straight, to see things as they are, or as they might naturally be, interested him more than to fancy things impossible ; and in this he shows, not want of imagination, but true imaginative power and imaginative maturity. It is those of us who are too feeble to conceive and master the real world, too cowardly to face it, that run away from it to those cheap fictions that alone seem to us fine enough for poetry or for religion.

Now that I have, as I hope, removed these *prima facie* difficulties which arise from prejudice, all that remains for me to do is to read a few passages from the poem itself. Two things there are to note about them. The first is the singular power of the metre, these 'loose Alexandrines,' in securing unification of the picture. Lucretian hexameters read to me, who am no Latinist, rapider than Virgilian and carry you on on the tide of this movement and life of the atoms. These Alexandrines of Bridges are more effective still, and sweep you on through his moralities and reflections and scientific expositions until you cannot help feeling the life and movement of these things, to less reflective minds so arid. This is why I commented on Bridges' apparent ingratitude in speaking of Lucretius. For Lucretius' atoms seem to me more interesting and alive than Bridges' own severe ex-

positions of nature and man. And merely to gratify myself I recall how Lucretius in one place fancies the atoms listening to a certain theory and says they would bedew their cheeks with laughter over it (I, vv. 19, 20).<sup>1</sup> Could anyone have said so in prose? But for the poet the atoms are concrete and he shares their movement and life.

With this almost wilful parenthetical remark I have been leaving the matter of Bridges' workmanship, all important as it is for the artist, and have encroached upon the subject which concerns me most, which I am the most anxious that you should verify, the feature which distinguishes him as a poet and for all the closeness of his subject to a prose treatment, his concreteness by which his subject is not presented merely to our eyes but is enacted in itself; by which 'self-hood' and 'breed' and morals become for us a new world of living history. Doubtless such concrete vision is a reflection of the poet himself; the secret of a poem, he says (IV., 992), 'lieth in this intimat echo of the poet's life.' The question to be answered is whether this concreteness is there and whether it is not this which makes the poetic vision.

I will quote two passages which occur at the very beginning I., 8-36 and 72-85 and two others from Book II.

'Twas late in my long journey, when I had clomb to where  
the path was narrowing and the company few,  
a glow of childlike wonder enthal'd me, as if my sense  
had come to a new birth purified, my mind enrapt  
reawakening to a fresh initiation of life;  
with like surprise of joy as any man may know  
who rambling wide hath turned, resting on some hill-top  
to view the plain he has left, and seeth it now out-spread  
mapp'd at his feet, a landscape so by beauty estranged  
he scarce will ken familiar haunts, nor his own home,  
maybe, where far it lieth, small as a faded thought.

Or as I well remember one highday in June  
bright on the seaward South-downs, where I had come afar  
on a wild garden planted years ago, and fenced  
thickly within live-beechen walls: the season it was  
of prodigal gay blossom, and man's skill had made  
a fair-order'd husbandry of that nativ pleasaunce:  
But had there been no more than earth's wild loveliness,  
the blue sky and soft air and the unmown flowersprent lawns,  
I would have lain me down and longed, as I then did,

<sup>1</sup> *Fiet uti risu tremulo concussa cachinnent  
et lacrimis salsis umectent ora genasque.*



to lie there ever indolently undisturb'd and watch  
 the common flowers that starr'd the fine grass of the wold,  
 waving in gay display their gold-heads to the sun,  
 each telling of its own incontinent happiness,  
 each type a faultless essence of God's will, such gems  
 as magic master-minds in painting or music  
 threw aside once for man's regard or disregard,  
 things supreme in themselves, eternal, unnumber'd  
 in the unexplored necessities of Life and Love.

Hast thou then thought that all this ravishing music,  
 that stirreth so thy heart, making thee dream of things  
 illimitable, unsearchable and of heavenly import,  
 is but a light disturbance of the atoms of air,  
 whose jostling ripples, gather'd within the ear, are tuned  
 to resonant scale, and thence by the enthron'd mind received  
 on the spiral stairway of her audience chamber  
 as heralds of high spiritual significance?  
 and that without thine ear, sound would hav no report,  
 Nature hav no music; nor would ther be for thee  
 any better melody in the April woods at dawn  
 than what an old stone-deaf labourer, lying awake  
 o'night in his comfortless attic, might perchance  
 be aware of, when the rats run amok in his thatch?

But heav'nward tho' the chariot be already mounted,  
 'tis Faith alone can keep the charioteer in heart—  
 Nay, be he but irresolute the steeds will rebel,  
 and if he looketh earthward they will follow his gaze;  
 and ever as to earth he neareth, and vision cleareth  
 of all that he feareth, and the enemy appeareth  
 waving triumphant banners on the strongholds of ill,  
 his mirroring mind will tarnish, and mortal despair  
 possess his soul: then surely Nature hath no night  
 dark as that black darkness that can be felt: no storm  
 blind as the fury of Man's self-destructiv passions,  
 no pestilence so poisonous as his hideous sins. (II, 509-520)

For I think not of Reason as men thought of Adam,  
 created fullgrown, perfect in the image of God;  
 But as a helpless nursing of animal mind,  
 as a boy with his mother, unto whom he oweth  
 more than he ever kenneth or stayeth to think, language,  
 knowledge, grace, love and those ideal aims whereby  
 his manly intelligence cometh to walk alone. (II, 725-731)

The fuller verification I must leave to the reader. But for my  
 own selfish delight I must quote one of the greater and more lyrical  
 passages. They are not necessarily more poetical, for when the poet

is describing like Lucretius the inner life of the atoms or like Bridges the inner life of man, he is mastering material of greater difficulty than when he can surrender himself to sensible or let us say sensual pleasures (Keats speaks of the sensual ear, without reproach). I quote it because in such a passage the poet's characteristic virtue is more palpable and such passages might stand alone. The passage I choose is the one about the scents of flowers, towards the end.

The repudiation of pleasure is a reason'd folly  
of imperfection. Ther is no motiv can rebate  
or decompose the intrinsic joy of activ life,  
whereon all function whatsoever in man is based.  
Consider how this mortal sensibility  
hath a wide jurisdiction of range in all degrees,  
from mountainous gravity to imperceptible  
faintest tenuities :—The imponderable fragrance  
of my window-jasmin, that from her starry cup  
of redstemm'd ivory invadeth my being,  
as she floateth it forth, and wantoning unabashed  
asserteth her idea in the omnipotent blaze  
of the tormented sun-ball, checquering the gray wall  
with shadow-tracery of her shapely fronds ; this frail  
unique spice of perfumery, in which she holdeth  
monopoly by royal licence of Nature,  
is but one of a thousand angelic species,  
original beauties that win conscience in man :  
a like marvel hangeth o'er the rose-bed, and where  
the honeysuckle escapeth in serpentine sprays  
from its dark-cloistered chamber thru' the old holly-bush,  
spreading its joybunches to finger at the sky  
in revel above rivalry. Legion is their name ;  
Lily-of-the-vale, Violet, Verbena, Mignonette,  
Hyacinth, Heliotrope, Sweet-briar, Pinks and Pear,  
Lilac and Wallflower, or such white and purple blooms  
that sleep i' the sun, and their heavy perfumes withhold  
to mingle their heart's incense with the wonder-dreams,  
love-laden prayers and reveries that steal forth from earth,  
under the dome of night : and tho' these blossomy breaths,  
that hav presumed the title of their gay genitors,  
enter but singly into our neighboring sense, that hath  
no panorama, yet the mind's eye is not blind  
unto their multitudinous presences : I know  
that if odour were visible as color is, I'd see  
the summer garden aureoled in rainbow clouds,  
with such warfare of hues as a painter might choose  
to show his sunset sky or a forest aflame ;  
while o'er the country-side the wide clover-pastures

and the beanfields of June would wear a mantle, thick  
as when in late October, at the drooping of day  
the dark grey mist arising blotteth out the land  
with ghostly shroud. Now these and such-like influences  
of tender specialty must not—so fine they be—  
fall in neglect and all their loveliness be lost,  
being to the soul deep springs of happiness, and full  
of lovingkindness to the natural man, who is apt  
kindly to judge of good by comfortable effect. (IV, 459-506.)

I have said nothing about special features of the workmanship of the poem such as the Miltonic revelling in proper names. These are matters which concern the literary critic; my concern is not with them, even if I had the competence; I am concerned with the one point. Admitting that a poem and its workmanship are one thing and one thing only, and that a poet without words, and melodious words, is nothing, we may still ask whether there is not such a difference in treatment and subject and its concomitant diction, which makes one artist in words choose the form of prose and another the form of poetry. This difference I have tried to suggest by setting the transcendently beautiful prose of Pascal in contrast with the beautiful poetry of the *Testament of Beauty*.

A further question is at once suggested, whether it is not likely that this same difference verified here in Pascal and Bridges has not its counterpart in the other arts as well. But I have already wandered far enough away from the ostensible subject of my discourse which was Pascal, and have made him the excuse for a more general discussion. Still it is a character of the greatest men and (Pascal belongs to the very greatest) that they raise questions which they themselves do not answer.

THE VALUE OF THE MEDICEAN CODEX OF  
VERGIL<sup>1</sup> (WITH AN APPENDIX ON THE CHRONOLOGY  
OF THE CAPITAL MANUSCRIPTS).

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THE chief object of this lecture is to illustrate the unique value to the study of Vergil which must be claimed for the famous manuscript at Florence known as the Medicean (*codex Mediceus*, or *M*). But I want also to submit some evidence on a scientific question, which is sure to be new to most people, and which at first may seem, perhaps, unduly remote from general interest.

In approaching what is sure to be the heaviest task that I shall attempt in what working time my life may yet give me, namely the editing of Vergil, I have begun by studying this codex, which every scholar knows to be one of the most important manuscripts of Vergil's acknowledged work; and I have found the study very interesting. The problems which it involves can be easily indicated without dwelling on details which only specialists would welcome.

The manuscripts of Vergil fall into two great classes, the later class separated from the earlier by at least three centuries, that is by the gap between the fifth and the eighth, the Dark Ages as we call them, in which the recopying and multiplication of the works of Classical authors was almost unknown. The earlier class we call the Capital manuscripts, because they are written in large letters, each letter separate from those that follow and precede. The second class we call Minuscule, because they are written in a smaller continuous hand, like our own writing when we are writing carefully. Now since these Capital manuscripts are all known to be not later than the fifth or sixth century, they are much nearer to Vergil than any others. We

<sup>1</sup> An amplification of the lecture delivered at the John Rylands Library, on the 18th of March, 1931.





DICEBAT ACCEPIT QUETURBATA PETITUIT  
 CASTA ANICI KANIMIS POSSUNT RETINERE AIOH  
 QUIS EUAT RISTENOUU QUONUNCU OTIMBIS INQU  
 HIUMISEBAICIUISNONHOSTEAMINIAU CAQ CASTIA  
 AAGUUMFISTAAISPISURITISINIGOUISITA  
 ASCANIMSOALIAMANIEPIDESPAHCITINANIM  
 QUA LUBONBOUTUSPILISIMULACRACIBAT  
 ACCELIKATSIAMULNENTASIAMULAGMINETECUM  
 ASTILLABOUIASAMITUPIALITORAPASSIM  
 DITUCIUNTILUASQIESACUBICONCAUALIUMIM  
 SATAPITUNTISTITINCIPTILUCISQSUOSQ  
 MULTEAGNOSCUNTETECUSSAQPICTORAIUNOIS  
 SIDMONIBCIACOFLAMMAALIQINCINDIAMIM  
 INDEMITASPOSUEALUDOSUOROBONEQUIIT  
 STUTINQOMINSTARDUMIUAMUENTUSQCAHNE  
 ESTUARCOMITIOSDISCINDITCORPORALISTIS  
 NECUIRESHIAOUMINTUSAQILUMINATROSM  
 TUMTIUSAALIASUMIRIS EXCINDIACIUSIM  
 AUXILIOQUECARIDIOSITINDIRIEMALAY  
 IUTITACAMMOTENASINONDUMI XOSUSADUMU  
 TAOLANOSIQUIPIETASANTICUALIAPORTIS  
 RISTICITUMANOIDAFLAMMAALUODIALITIS  
 NUNCERASTITINUISTUCUMRISITITIS  
 UELINQUOPSUETASIMINISTOULAIINIAORTA  
 SIMINIORDIMIITHUQALHICORAUDEXIAK  
 ALIETHACEBIOKAFECUMIITUSISIMPAIBATA  
 TIMETIASINEMORI IURITONITRAUQJATAMSCON  
 ARDUATILAKAUMHICAMPISAUITAIHIAITIT  
 TURBIDUMBIKACUONFMSISQNICIKAMMONTIS

FIG. 1.—Mediceus (Aen. v. 668-696).

should very much like to know their actual dates, so that when they differ we could say definitely : " the earliest reading is so and so, and the later reading so and so." Not of course that the earlier reading is always the right one ; only it has a better chance of being right, or being near what is right, because it has not had to undergo the chance of being corrupted in so many different processes of copying.

Now the total number of Capital manuscripts that we possess of all authors is not very large, and the number that we can date precisely is very small indeed. We do know however, roughly, which forms of the letters are earlier and which are later ; and by a careful study of the writing we can sometimes arrive at a relative order of date. The essential thing is to compare the writing of the different manuscripts ; and since some of the oldest of these in the case of Vergil have only recently come to be known, that study has hardly yet been made ; and if the deductions from this comparison, which are printed as an appendix to this lecture, win the acceptance of more experienced scholars and palæographers, then some fraction will have been added to our knowledge of the dates of the manuscripts, and consequently to our means of judging what Vergil wrote in cases where there is a doubt.

The photographs which have been taken for me, some with the kind help of Dr. Guppy, show specimens of the script of five of these Capital manuscripts. They are printed at the end of this paper ; and they may serve to give, so to speak, just a whiff of the flowers of knowledge which the labour of scholars has to cultivate in this part of their garden. Any one who may think them not so much flowers as somewhat dusty and forbidding puzzles, can read the rest of this lecture, if he will, without suffering anything from the Appendix.

But let us consider at once a page of the *Medicean* (Fig. 1). It is not at all difficult to read and gives us part of the story from the Fifth Book of the *Aeneid* (ll. 668-696), of Ascanius rushing away from the games to save the fleet, which the old ladies of the party had set on fire so as to escape from any more sea-sickness. The third line of the page begins the speech of Ascanius, and I transcribe five lines to show how easy it is to read :—

quis furor iste nouus? quo nunc, quo tenditis inquit,  
heu, miserae ciues? non hostem inimicaque castra  
Argiūm; uestras spes uritis. en, ego uester  
Ascanius. galeam ante pedes proiecit inanem,  
qua ludo indutus belli simulacra ciebat.

The only remarks to be added<sup>1</sup> are that the manuscript knows no signs of punctuation except a dot in the middle of the line, which has to do duty for comma, full-stop, and note of interrogation. And in the third line the *i* of *Arginum* was at first left out, and then inserted above the line.

Turn to another page (Fig. 2) which has the end of the Eclogues. On the lower half of it you see a 'subscriptio' or tail-piece, in large capitals (red in the original), which states that here is the conclusion of the Bucolics, and the beginning of the Georgics.

P VERGILI MARONIS

BVCOLICON LIBER EXPLICIT(VS)

INCIPIT GEORGICON LIB(ER) I FELICITER.

But something else is written in smaller letters and different ink, and this is an addition of great interest, though we value it for rather different reasons from those which its author expected us to feel. It is written all round about the capital letters in smaller capitals; and these are of a different and, we know, later style.<sup>2</sup>

The addition is partly in prose and partly in verse, and I transcribe it, writing in full the words which are abbreviated in the original.

### The *SUBSCRIPTIO* of Apronianus.

Turcius Rufus Apronianus Asterius, u(ir)c(larissimus) et in(lustris), ex comite domest(icorum) protect(orum), ex com(ite)

<sup>1</sup> Except that perhaps some students will be interested to know further that the curious curling up of the right-hand ends of the lines in the photograph is a mark of the straightjacket in which the codex was confined by Napoleon, who carried it off to Paris in 1797 and had it tightly bound up in heavy calf, which made it impossible even to open the volume wide! Every lover of Vergil must be grateful for the enlightened generosity of the present Italian Government, by which, under the direction of Professor E. Rostagno, the distinguished scholar now in charge of the Laurentian library, Napoleon's binding has been removed—and preserved as a curiosity of barbarism;—every page will now be reset bodily, embedded between large modern margins, and the whole reproduced, at great cost, in a beautiful photographic facsimile. This will be far easier to read than the original, because through the untiring efforts of Prof. Rostagno, spread over several years, no sheet has been passed until, by the re-arrangement of light and background, every mark on every page has been brought out to the best advantage.

<sup>2</sup> Take only as examples the letters G and Q with their tails running down below the line.



AUDERE SILENTIALIS HOMINUM MENTIS CERNERE  
 LAMINE QUAM IN DRADES BRUUSUAE NECCAMINANTIBUS  
 ITES LACINIES SAEPIUS USU CONCIDITIS ILUAI  
 NON ILLUMINOSIT POSSUNT AUTARE LABORE  
 NECSILICORIBUS IDIUS HEDAMAIQ. BIBAMUS  
 SITHONIASQ. NIUS HITAUS SUBERNAMUS AQUONAI  
 NEC SICUAMORIENSALIA LIBERARE IN ULMO  
 AETHIOPIUM IASERAMUS QUI SUBSIDERE CANCKI  
 ORINIA QUINCE AMON ET NOCIDAMUS AMOR  
 FINISSATI AMPIUM EST ROMCECINISSE POFAM  
 DUAI SEDELLICACILI IISCELLANTEXITHIBISCO  
 PIRIDISUOSHINICACHISSAIXINIZ. CALLO  
 CALLOCUTUS AMONANT. THICLES CITIN FORAS  
 QUANTUM IURAUOUQUERIDES. ABICATIL  
 SURGAMUS SOLITESSE GRAUISC. AMON. DUMIKAS  
 IUNIPINIGRAUISUMBANNO. AMON. AUGIBUS AMAN  
 MIDOMUS SATUAIUENITHIN. AUGITICATIL

VIRGILI  
 Bucolicorum  
 LIBER  
 INCIPIT

FIG. 2.—Mediceus (end of Bucolics).

To face page 33



priu(atarum) largit(ionum), ex prae(fecto) urbi, patricius et consul ordin(arius), legi et distincxi codicem fratris Macharii u(iri) c(larissimi), non mei fiducia set eius, cui si et ad omnia sum devotus, arbitrio, XI Kal. Mai. Romae.

distincxi emendans; gratum mihi munus amicis  
 suscipiens operi sedulus incubui,  
 tempore quo penaces circo subiuncximus atq(ue)  
 scenam Euripo extulimus subitam,  
 ut ludos currusque simul uariumq(ue) ferarum  
 certamen iunctim Roma teneret ouans.  
 ternum quippe sofos merui, terna agmina uolgi  
 per caueas plausus concinuere meos.  
 in quaestum famae census iactura cucurrit,  
 nam laudis fructum talia damna serunt.  
 sic tot consumptas seruant spectacula gazas  
 festorumq(ue) trium permanet una dies;  
 Asteriumq(ue) suum uiuax transmittit in aeuum  
 qui parcas trabeis tam bene donat opes.  
 quisq(ue) legis, relegas felix, parcasque benigne  
 si qua minus uacuu praeteriit a(nimu)s.

It tells us that a certain senator called Turcius Rufus Apronianus Asterius, who held, or had held, various high offices at Rome, punctuated and corrected this manuscript which belonged to his brother Macharius, in the year in which he, Apronianus, was consul. He modestly remarks that he would not have ventured to do it, but for the confidence which his brother had in him, his brother to whom, he adds, 'I am utterly devoted, even if it were for a matter of life and death.'<sup>1</sup> Now luckily we know the date in which Apronianus was consul, 494 A.D.; so that was when he undertook to correct this manuscript, which must have been written a good long while before then, if one judges by the difference of the writing.

But the good Apronianus was not content with recording in prose what he did; he is moved to poetic composition, and gives us an elegiac effusion in sixteen lines, of which two are devoted to what he did for Vergil, and the other fourteen relate all the other things he did in his consulship, and pleads them as an excuse for any mistakes he has made. Let me attempt a version of his lines.

<sup>1</sup>This bad sense of *omnia* is insufficiently recognised; one eminent German scholar condemned the passage as corrupt because he did not understand it. Verg., *Culex*, 166; Juv., v. 170; Livy, 29. 32. 14, and 30. 12. 12. may serve as examples.

*Verses subscribed to the Cod. Med. Vergilii by Turcius Rufius Asterius Apronianus (consul 494 A.D.).*

These poems I corrected, and put in the punctuation—  
 My friends will prize the fruit of my devoted application—  
 Just when the circus-enclave I had neatly boarded round  
 And across the ditch a brand new stage erected from the ground,  
 So that proud Rome might triumph in a simultaneous view  
 Of plays, and various wild-beast-fights, and chariot races too.  
 Indeed I earned three separate cheers "Bravo, Bravo, Bravo ;"  
 Three separate crowds called out my name, applauding row on row.  
 How much the poorer I was left, to reckon isn't nice ;  
 For popularity of course one has to pay a price !  
 In grateful memories three shows my vanished wealth enshrined,  
 Three exhibitions in one day leave lasting fame behind ;  
 To celebrate all down the years Asterius as the donor  
 Of splendid games, from modest means of which he was the owner.  
 So good luck to you, reader ; read, and if mistakes you find  
 Forgive the man who left them ; he'd so much upon his mind.

I must remark in passing that in spite of the ingenious attempts of some German scholars to avoid believing the obvious, it appears to me quite impossible to doubt that these lines were actually written by Apronianus, where they stand on this parchment ; there are many reasons, yet I need only state two : namely that no one but the author of this doggerel would want to inscribe it on a valuable manuscript of Vergil and spoil an important page by doing so ; and that it is quite impossible to suppose that the whole manuscript with Apronianus' addition was recopied at a date later than Apronianus. No later scribe could have reproduced the earlier writing, if he had wanted to ; and that was the last thing which would have occurred to his mind to attempt.<sup>1</sup> Yet at the end of the nineteenth century Oxonian scholarship stood in such awe of believing anything that any German scholar, even the erratic Ribbeck, had ever denied, that the author of the judicious and most serviceable edition of the text of Vergil in the *Bibliotheca Oxoniensis*, in his Preface humbly warns the reader not to suppose that we have the writing of Apronianus before us on this

<sup>1</sup> I am very glad to be supported by the opinion of Professor E. H. Minns in this matter, who writes to me on April 18th, 1931 : "I do not see why Mediceus should not be a good deal older than Asterius : such books must have been kept, valued, used and even corrected for a long time after they were written."



page, though he gives no reason for the warning, and had, apparently, never thought of looking at the manuscript himself !

Since this addition, then, dates from 494 A.D., and is in writing and ink considerably younger than that of the codex itself, it follows that the codex must have been first written considerably earlier. How far earlier I am myself tempted to put it, I will confess in the appendix to this lecture.

Now that we have glanced at the Codex, and satisfied ourselves provisionally on the question of its date, let us turn to what is really a harder matter, but one rather nearer to our ordinary interests. It may at least claim the attention of all students of Vergil, even if they regard the topics we have been considering as too lofty, or too lowly, to deserve their notice. I can well imagine that many people who may cast an eye on the appendix, will be asking why scholars should take so much trouble about these ancient matters. Why does this Codex in particular deserve so much study ? What in fact is its special value ?

Well, we have to estimate the value of any one manuscript by comparing it with its competitors. Has the scribe of that manuscript had such good predecessors, and has he copied the last of them so faithfully, that he gives us a truer account of what Vergil really wrote than the other manuscripts do ?

This question is often very difficult to settle in the case of two or more manuscripts, both of which we find to possess both merits and defects, and very often it is impossible to frame any general judgment. We have to be content with taking what seems to us to be good from one manuscript, and where it is less good, taking what we find to be better in another, provided we can find a reasonable explanation of the corruption. But we have to remember about anything which may seem to us better, or pleasanter to read, or more like what we could ourselves wish the author to have written, that we may nevertheless be wrong in concluding that he did write just that. Again and again scholars have chosen a reading which was easier, as they thought, to translate, or more like their own way of thinking ; and then it has been found afterwards by clear evidence that what they preferred was quite certainly not what the author wrote.

With this warning let us now consider a few typical examples of the Medicean text. Since on the whole I am rather in love with this

codex, it will be well to begin with passages in which I must admit that the scribe or his predecessor has been, to put it simply, rather naughty. The text has been changed (for reasons which we can guess at) from what Vergil really wrote, as shown by the other manuscripts; and in each of these cases it will be clear, I think, why our verdict must be given against the Medicean reading. The list might be made a long one,<sup>1</sup> but I will be content with one or two typical examples. In Georg. iv. 73 all the other good manuscripts have these lines:

*quam multa in foliis autumnum se milia condunt,  
uesper ubi aut hibernus agit de montibus imber.*

Now here instead of *in foliis* *M* writes *in siluis*. Why does he do this? Because he, or his predecessor, remembered quite a different simile (to illustrate the same conception, the multitude of the dead) in a famous passage of the Aeneid (vi. 309):

*quam multa in siluis auctumni frigore primo  
lapsa cadunt folia.*

Now here it is plain that *siluis* is right in Book vi., because *folia* comes as the subject in the next line. That does not of course prove that it is wrong in the Georgics; but there are two questions we have to ask. First, which of the two words suits the passage in the Georgics better? Now there is nothing wrong with *siluis*; birds do hide themselves in forests; they also spend a good deal of the day time in forests; but it is only at night or in a heavy shower of rain, which are the circumstances Vergil mentions, that they take care to hide 'under the leaves.' *In foliis* therefore gives us a much more precise description of what the birds are doing in the picture; and we know how carefully Vergil loved to watch all their movements. Secondly we have to ask if it is more likely that Vergil wrote *in siluis* in the Georgics, and that a great number of good scribes should go wrong and alter it into *in foliis* without what would seem to them any urgent reason—although, as we have seen, *in foliis* is more appropriate. Or on the other hand whether it is not more likely that the scribe of the Medicean, being, as he certainly was, an excellent scholar, should have, almost unconsciously, allowed the recollection of the *quam multa in siluis*

<sup>1</sup> See R. Sabbadini (in *Historia* 1929) for a more severe judgement.

passage to run into the text, instead of copying, as he ought to have done, what was before him.<sup>1</sup>

On these two counts, therefore, I am afraid we must give the verdict against the Medicean in this case.

Now take a more subtle question. In Georgics, iv. 348, the other good manuscripts have :

. . . . . *dum fusis mollia pensa deuoluunt*

describing the nymphs at their spinning while they are listening to Clymene's pretty stories. The operation of spinning, here described, without a wheel, simply by twisting the spindle with one's fingers, is not very rapid, and it would not be quickened by the interest the fair spintresses took in the stories they were hearing. Here *M* has made no change in the meaning, but has simply altered the order of the words into *fusis dum*. Now every schoolboy will much prefer the other writing because it does not give him the trouble of discovering that the conjunction *dum*, which in prose regularly begins its clause, has for some poetical purpose been put second word; so on this score we might perhaps think that the Medicean was right, and that all the others had simply changed Vergil's order to make the sentence more like simple prose. Well, that is rather a serious charge. Let us ask our two questions again. First, which order is more likely to have been Vergil's? On this opinions may differ. Everyone who has studied the structure of Vergil's verse knows that one of the ways in which he refined upon the work of his predecessor Lucretius was by avoiding an arrangement of which Lucretius seems to have been either fond or at least entirely tolerant, namely having for the fourth foot of the line a spondee, consisting of a single word. This, as a rule, Vergil avoids because it makes the line "go slow," tending to break it up into separate pieces. Now there is another case of the same variation in the Medicean,<sup>2</sup> which may show that the scribe felt this. I am therefore inclined to believe that in these cases he deliberately changed the order of the words before him, and wrote here *fusis dum*

<sup>1</sup> He did just the same in Aen. viii. 583, changing *dicta* before *supremo* into *maesta* (which is not here appropriate) from a memory of iii. 482.

<sup>2</sup> Aen. iv. 187 *magnas et for et magnas* is closely similar; Aen. i. 333 *et uastis* instead of *uastis et* gives us the converse change, but in the same point of the line, a point at which it would seem perhaps as if our scribe felt a certain temptation to play with the text.

instead of *dum fusis*; but that Vergil had preferred the unusual rhythm in this line in order to picture in sound the coyness and occasional resistance of the wool to being pulled out of its clump at the end of the distaff and being turned into smooth thread. Of course you may think this is too fanciful, and you may prefer to take the reading of *M*; but then you must believe that the other manuscripts altered it wilfully; or rejecting that reading you may, perhaps justly, prefer not to attribute to *M* any metrical motive, but to class these variations with other variations of order,<sup>1</sup> generally, if not always, involving no injury to the metre, which must be laid to the account of *M*.

Now turn to some interesting cases where it is difficult to be sure whether *M* is right or wrong.

. . . *vatum responsa priorum*

is the reading of the other manuscripts,<sup>2</sup> and it makes excellent sense. Dido in her feverish meditations turns over in her mind 'things that ancient prophets had foretold.' Now the Medicean alone reads *piorum*. That would be equally effective so far as Dido was concerned, 'the predictions of pious seers,' and it would give us in addition just a hint of Vergil's well-known attitude towards professional prophets like Tolumnius in Book xii. or Calchas in Book ii. The supposed piety of the prophets was one of the things that helped to betray Dido. *M* may be right. But seeing the likeness of the letters R and P it is also quite possible that the R may have been omitted by mere oversight.

Take another interesting case where *M* is not alone—in fact several of the good manuscripts of the later, that is the cursive, class agree with *M*, three assigned to the ninth century in particular. A little later in Dido's story (l. 564) when she has resolved upon suicide, Mercury visits Aeneas in a dream, and warns him that Dido may be plotting some violent deed to destroy his fleet. In the description of Dido's state of mind the very early Vatican fragments and the Palatinus give us *uariosque irarum concitat aestus* ('she wakens (all) the different surges of wrath within her'); whereas the Medicean and some others give *uarioque irarum fluctuat aestu* ('she is tossed to and fro upon the shifting surge of her wrath'). Both ex-

<sup>1</sup> Such as e.g., *sonitum flammae* for *fl. son.*, G. iv. 409; *iam cum* for *cum iam*, Aen. ii. 112; *secum nostrae* for *nostrae secum*, Aen. iv. 662.

<sup>2</sup> In Aen. iv. 464.



pressions are perfectly Vergilian, indeed *fluctuat* has been used of Dido only thirty lines before: *magnoque irarum fluctuat aestu*; and the last two words are used again by Vergil in the Eighth Book with *curarum*. Yet *M* can hardly be right here, because it is not Vergil's way to repeat himself in the Homeric fashion, and *concitat* suggests better the half-conscious resolve of Dido to keep her passionate anger alive. The corruption is of course easy to explain. The scribe who had written *fluctuat* after *irarum* only half an hour before would very naturally fall into it again.

One more example, from the Seventh Eclogue (l. 25). The young Thyrsis is claiming rank as a verse-writer who one day hopes to be a real poet. The Palatinus and the Veronese give us:

*pastores, hedera crescentem ornate poetam,*

which of course is quite good Latin,—‘shepherds, crown with ivy the growing composer,’ and the idea is carried out in the following lines, where he says he does not want to be praised too much for fear some jealous tongue may injure, that is by some curse, ‘the poet that is to be’ (*uati futuro*).

Now the reading of *M* has been wrongly reported as *nascentem*,—‘the composer at his birth,’ which of course is nonsense. Thyrsis has been born long ago. But the real reading of *M*, as I found with interest, is *nascente*, an ablative agreeing with *hedera*. That is quite a different thing. We all know how lovely the young shoots of ivy are when the leaves are just unfolding, how different from the dank and dusty leaves of the full-grown plant. Of course the meaning in prose would be the same. The infant ivy would be a symbol of the budding, but immature, genius of the poet, and it would prepare the way, just as well as *crescentem* does, for the later lines, but prepare it with a pretty image, instead of a straightforward, ordinary epithet. Here I have very little doubt that *M* is right. The ordinary scribe, not seeing the playful suggestion of the image, would alter *nascente* into *nascentem* to agree with *poetam*; and then a correction to the more truthful *crescentem* would be easy.

Now let us turn to a few passages in which *M*, as I think you will agree, has quite certainly preserved the real text. First a very simple case in the Sixth Book (l. 231). After Aeneas has done the last rites to honour Misenus, he concludes by sprinkling his companions

with the lustral water (*lustravitque viros*). Here both the Palatinus and the Romanus have the absurd corruption *domos* instead of *uiros*. There were no houses on the shore. So in Book x. (l. 657), *M* alone gives us what Vergil wrote, *dia Camilla*, 'goddess-like Camilla'; Romanus has sadly corrupted it into *dura*, and the others into *diua*. She was not 'a goddess,' but she was 'like a goddess.' And again in the famous passage at the end of Book i. of the Georgics we have to thank the source from which the good Apronianus drew his corrections for giving us what Vergil certainly wrote: *inlusas auro uestes*—'garments made foolish with gold embroidery,' whereas *P*, *R* and *M* himself give us *inclusas*, which could only mean 'shut up in a golden box.'

One more passage where I feel sure, with Bentley, that *M* is right, though the reading of the others affords quite a possible meaning, is Aen. x. 291, where Tarchon is looking out for a good place to land: *qua uada non sperat*—'where he does not expect any shoals.' But that phrase would certainly suggest that his hopes were going to be disappointed, which they were not. He makes a successful landing. The Medicean reading is far more like Vergil: *qua uada non spirant*—'where no shoals breathe foam,' like a splendid line in the First Book of the Georgics: *feruetque fretis spirantibus aequor*, where it is interesting to note that *R* has altered what he thought was a strange word (*spirantibus*) into *spumantibus*.

But finally, our greatest debt of all to the Medicean is its completeness. It contains far more of Vergil than any other of the Capital manuscripts. For example, this is the only one of them that records the temptation of Camilla (xi. 757-782), where the maiden warrior is led into an incautious pursuit of a particular enemy by the splendour of the robe he is wearing, and exposes herself to attack from behind. The lines are of course genuine, and the whole story of Camilla would be spoilt without them. More important still is the fact that the first hundred and thirty-nine lines of the Second Book of the Georgics are completely lost in *P* and *R*, and all but twenty-seven of them lost in *V*, so that the Medicean is our only early authority.

Now I know by experience that the schoolboy, and even a first-year-student, would feel no great pang at the loss of these lines, which are not easy. But I venture to ask you now just to notice how much

there is of the real Vergil which these lines make very clear to us, some things perhaps even more clear than they are anywhere else.

If among you there are any who happen to have read this passage with me, I must ask their pardon for taking them over old ground, though perhaps, if they share my feelings about it, it will not be less pleasant for that. Bacchus is first invoked by a Greek name (*Lenæe*, 'god of the wine-press'), and the schoolboy wonders why he should be required to learn that too; and he is still more puzzled to know why in the eighth line this same deity is told that he must 'throw off his buskins,' *dereptis cothurnis*; and with difficulty he suppresses a sigh at having to learn what a buskin means—a high shoe worn by the actors in Greek tragedy. He cannot think what Greek tragedy has to do with Italian farmers, and none of the commentaries enlighten him; indeed some of them join him in grumbling.

Well, as usual, the things that strike us as most difficult in Vergil at first sight are those most richly worth study.

Not Bacchus only, but many other deities, Vergil loves to call by their Greek names; and not in this way only, but in many others, Vergil is always trying to bring in aspects of life, familiar to the Greeks, less familiar to the Italians; and he does this deliberately, because he wants to infuse the humdrum work, and the still more humdrum religion, of the Italian farmer with the lively spirit of Greek fancy and Greek story. So that, for instance, he will not think of Ceres merely as the power which makes the corn grow and has no other interest in the world and nothing else interesting about her; but as the beautiful, bereaved, divine Mother, who goes mourning half the year because her lovely daughter has been snatched away below ground to be the bride all the winter of the dusky Lord of the Dead. I must not dwell on this now, but only ask you to remember that in this Vergil felt he had a sort of mission, to enliven and enlighten all the farmer's days.

But what about the buskins? "Why," asks the schoolboy, "why when I have learnt that Bacchus is the god of wine, need I have to be taught also that he was the patron of Greek tragedy where the actors wore that kind of shoe?" What has Vergil done? He has called Bacchus in this picture away from the stately drama and music of the Lenæan festival at Athens and the solemn performance of some great tragedy by an Aeschylus or a Sophocles,

plays, whose magnificent poetry touched all the problems of life and probed the depths of the human soul, to the vats in which the new plucked grapes are to be trodden and the workers' knees are to be stained deep in the red juice ; away out to the sunny Italian autumn on some fragrant hillside. And why does he do it ? Might not a critic say that to conjure up these two contrasted pictures delays, rather than helps, the reader's progress ? But it was worth while to give the space of a line to a picture which compels us to realise how dear and how great Vergil thought his subject to be. He makes no claim as to his own powers ; he feels that he needs all the inspiration that ancient poets have enjoyed if he is to do justice to his subject. But what he alleges with fervour in this beautiful image, is that the subject deserves such inspiration ; that a poem which will celebrate worthily the glory of the farmer's work should deserve to be read side by side with the great tragedies of the Greeks.

All that side of Vergil's thought the Medicean has made clear to us by preserving these lines.

A little further on (ll. 45-76) we find that Vergil, as he has done elsewhere, tells us what he will not do. He will not involve the reader in a roundabout preface and invented stories ! Again the poor schoolboy shakes his head. Why on earth should Vergil have thought of doing such things, and spend time in telling us he will not ? But the answer is clear. The Alexandrine school of poets, under whose influence, especially that of Catullus, Vergil had begun to write, made it a point of honour never to approach their subject directly. When Gallus wanted to tell the tragic story of Scylla, the daughter of Nisus, he felt it would be wrong to begin it without first explaining in a parenthesis of thirty-four lines that he is not going to talk about quite a different Scylla, the daughter of Crataeis, who was turned into a monster, inhabiting the cave by the Sicilian Straits. Vergil's schoolboy poem about the underworld, the *Culex*, is wrapped up, as you know, in the pretty story of the gnat who saved the shepherd's life at the cost of her own. These tricks of the poetic trade Vergil henceforward renounces. He looks now for his model to the old Greek poets of the greatest period, not to those of Alexandria.

Another note which these lines strike is of course not new,



though here Vergil has put it, in line 61, into words which make a rhythm unique in all the thousands of lines which he wrote :

*scilicet omnibus est labor impendendus, et omnes  
cogendae in sulcum.*

The hammer of the three separated dactyls comes down with a crash upon the spondee of the fourth foot, and we feel the force with which all the plants, yes, every one, must be brought into military discipline, must be 'made to toe the line,' to stand straight in their rank. Hard work is the first condition of farming, but it is work in which he will take delight :

*iuuat Ismara Baccho  
conserere,*

'it is a delight to cover the Balkan valleys with the vine.' That word *iuuat*, especially at the beginning of a sentence, occurs again and again in Vergil's poetry ; in spite of all its sadness life is full of things good to see and to do.

Come now to quite a different note in a passage which strikes us as full of strange names (ll. 83-108), for which indeed Vergil himself apologises at the end. After he has told us a score of different species, he breaks off and says that we might as well try to count the sands of the desert or the waves of the sea ! Yes, but how has he done it ? Every one of the species has some picturesque quality attached, and some are described, not exactly by visible, but (what shall we say ?), by their spiritual characteristics. The Laguean wine 'one day is going to try the steadiness of your feet and the sureness of your tongue' ; the Raetic wine (that is the still famous wine of the Val Tellina) is told 'not to be proud and think it can rival the Falernian.' Or the wine of Tmolus, 'to which the golden royal wine of Chios rises to show respect,' or as we should say 'lifts his hat.' How many generations of solemn commentators have failed to see the fun which breathes through these lines ! And not these only. Even within the limits of this passage we find the tree, which has had another kind of shoot grafted upon it, 'wondering at the strange leaves and fruits that it cannot call its own' (l. 82). And the young plant, that has grown up from what gardeners call a sucker, grumbling 'at its mother's big shadow' (l. 56). There are of course certain people who can never see any trace of a jest that is not printed in capital letters ; but those who are willing to receive the pleasure

which Vergil's gentle humour is there to give them will find it continually in the *Georgics*.

And this humour is closely associated in all the examples I have mentioned with another feature of the poem, which is often regarded as a mere mechanical device, but which in fact has a significance of its own—namely Vergil's continual habit of attributing personality, not merely to animate creatures, but to plants, large and small, as well as to rivers and winds, countries and stars, and 'glad Mother Earth' herself (l. 327). Just as the young shoot feels its mother's shadow too large, so on the other hand some trees 'wait' to produce young shoots, 'a living family within their own ground' (l. 27), until 'their branches are bent down into the arch of the layer,' and so pinned in the soil. Others, again, if you treat them kindly and educate them, will consent to 'put off their savage temper and follow you obediently into any line of growth you will' (l. 51).

This way of seeing in other parts of creation some portion of that same creative spirit from which our human personalities spring, is perhaps Vergil's deepest feeling about the natural world; and it is this that makes him think that the farmer's life is so divine, because he is everywhere in touch with

"the hands  
That reach through nature moulding men"

and beasts and plants.

But in that same stanza Tennyson reminds us of what is perhaps a still deeper part of Vergil's consciousness, which appears plainly even in this small part of the *Georgics*. "The hands" that Tennyson knew came, you remember, "out of darkness." Just so, behind and around all Vergil's thought, lay a sense of mystery. In the *Aeneid* we know it in its most powerful and dramatic shape; in the tragedies of Dido, of Pallas and Lausus and Euryalus; of the needless war in Latium against Aeneas; of the appalling century of civil war in the Roman Empire; of the Emperor's own bereavement in the death of Marcellus. And in the *Georgics* the Third Book in each of its halves is so planned as to lead up to a tragic climax. These things every student of Vergil knows or should know. But even in smaller touches there appears the same wistful temper.

A form of narrative, which Vergil loves, no doubt partly because it affords a variety from the prosaic course of exposition, but also

because it suggests the limits of our knowledge, appears three times in these lines which only *M* has saved ; I mean the habit of stating things in a negative way. 'The rule for grafting is not simple' (l. 73) ; 'the number of kinds of grape are not to be counted' (l. 104) ; 'nor do the rich olives all grow after one fashion' (l. 85). Plainer examples still of Vergil's sense of contradiction, of his wonder, merging into pathos, are not wanting even in this short passage. The virtues of the citron conclude with its potency as an antidote ; 'if some cruel stepmother has poisoned the cup.' And when we fail to count the waves of the sea, it is because a south-east wind 'has fallen too fiercely on the ships.' And the tree which the forester will cultivate by taking slips is described as 'destined one day to brave the disasters of the seas' (l. 68). Of course that tells us by implication of the strength and size of the pine tree ; but it hints also at the struggle which that stout timber and the human beings whom it will carry must endure.

Perhaps you will think that I am laying too much stress on small points, and that in many or all of the examples that I have given you Vergil meant less than I suggest. Well, no one can prevent your so thinking if you choose ; no one can make you grasp the hand of understanding and penetrating sympathy which Vergil holds out to his reader, in this way or that, in nearly every line. But the longer you live in the study of what Vergil wrote, the more clearly you will know that that hand is there.

## APPENDIX.

### *Specimens of Writing from other Capital Manuscripts of Vergil.*

These specimens are presented in what, so far as I can judge, is their chronological order, except in the case of the first, the Augustean, whose date is by no means certain. In this part I am deeply indebted to the kind advice of Professor E. H. Minns, F.B.A., of Cambridge, though he is not responsible for anything but the words I have explicitly quoted from his letters.

Fig. 3 is from what is called the Augustean fragment, now in the Vatican library (though a facsimile is in the Library here); and though it is far from certain, as scholars have generally supposed, that its hand is the earliest of all—since, as Professor Minns points out to me, it could be revived at any time from abundant examples of inscriptions in the grand style on stone—yet it gives us a sort of standard. Its value is just that the hand is so like the writing of inscriptions of the best period, what we call Lapidary style. Indeed it differs very little from the capital letters that we see in print every day, because the first printers very wisely went back to the finest type of the Latin alphabet, not to the forms into which it gradually had been degraded in handwriting in this or that country of Europe by the fifteenth century.

Let me call your attention just to the chief marks of this hand which is known as the Quadrate Capital. Notice that B and P and R are always open, that is, their curl does not come right in so as to touch the upright, and that C and D are always big, nearly as broad as long. Further that E has always a substantial middle bar, and that this bar is always in the middle; that the two strokes of H are equally long; that M has its first stroke slanting and its last stroke nearly vertical; and last and chiefly, that what we call the finials, that is the little tips which we put across the ends of straight strokes at the top and bottom, are always small and straight. Yet the style







is not quite Lapidary, for the first letter has lost its middle bar and F has turned its top bar upwards, so as to be a little higher than the top of the next letter ; and T is just a little whimsical with its cross, not always equal on two sides of the upright, not always quite straight. [The exaggerated big letter at the beginning of the page reminds me of the Greek codex A of the Bible, almost certainly fifth century.—E. H. M.]. To this I may add from the linguistic point of view that the corruption of *b* into *v* in the word *solavere* in the last line but one is fatal to the supposition of any very early date.

Fig. 4 gives us a part of a Diploma<sup>1</sup> of Enfranchisement of a soldier who received his discharge and Roman citizenship by this document in A.D. 94. I transcribe a few portions (with the kind help of Mr. Schofield and Mr. Bell of the British Museum).

The last word of the ninth line and the tenth line give us the date of the document :

*Anno XIII Imp. Caesaris Domitiani Aug. Germanici mense epif. die VII* (the month named is roughly the Egyptian equivalent of July (June 25—July 24), the enfranchisement taking place in Alexandria). The next lines give us the name of the discharged soldier and introduce his sworn declaration before witnesses :

*M. Valerius M(arci) f(ilius) Pol(lia tribu) Quadratus, coram ac praesentibus eis qui signaturi erant testatus est iuratusque dixit.* The document ends by ascribing the boon to the emperor's grace : *beneficio optumi principis.*

In this rather ordinary, not to say vulgar, writing A has completely lost its cross bar ; B is tall and has its upper portion much smaller than the lower, as in line 1 ; C is broad, and so is D ; E has all its bars short and equal, but the top bar sometimes seems to point upward, as in *postea* in the second line ; F is beginning to be taller than E, as in *beneficio* in the last line, and G has its bar large but slanting, yet not below the line. H has lengthened its first stroke high above the line, and also above the second stroke, in the last line but three ; I, L and T are sadly alike. They happen to occur together in the phrase *et liberis* in the first line here shown. M has all its strokes slanting, and N slants too but tries to keep its third stroke upright. P sometimes

<sup>1</sup> I owe this interesting photograph to the kindness of Professor Minns, who took it from the *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie* reproduced in the *Illustrated London News*, 3rd September, 1910.

has its loop closed, as in the seventh line, but sometimes open as in *postea* in the second line and *optumi* in the last line. Q has a straight and limited tail, pointing below the line; R is generally closed as in the first and seventh lines, but sometimes open as in *principis*, the last word.

If we allow for the fact that this is a document written on wax with no particular care, since such Diplomas had to be prepared in great numbers, whereas our Medicean was written with great care, the two hands are remarkably alike. If the reader will glance back at the specimens given in Figures 1 and 2 of the Medicean, he will observe a somewhat earlier type in the forms of B, R and H, but a rather later type in F, E and L.

Notice also in the Medicean the forms of the letters A, T, P, C and G, and the regularity of the form of F though it has grown rather tall as L has done. Q is only allowed to flourish his tail when he is in the last line of a page. The hand of the Medicean seems to me so simple and straight-forward and business-like, and the finials so straight and limited that I cannot but think it distinctly older than that of the Palatinus to which we now come.

Fig. 5 is a specimen of the famous Palatinus, which has been

VILLAMORAMTECEINENIOVIAONIAAGANI  
 IIVAEITIAALAVETIAMIEVERMYNICAL  
 EINIIFERILIVAMETIAMASOLASUBRUTACENTEM  
 MAEINAVSETGELIOFIEVERVNISAXALYCAI  
 STANTIOVISCIACUMNOSTINIECAINITIAITILLAS  
 NECTAEINITIAETECORISDIVINIPOLTA  
 ETIOAMONVSOUISADIVMINATAVITADONIS

FIG. 5.—From Palatinus (Ecl. x. 12-18).

commonly supposed to be earlier than the Medicean. It is certainly earlier than the two we shall consider next. You see that M always has its first stroke inclined; and that F although it is rather curious through the smallness of its middle stroke and the largeness of its foot which make it very much like E, still does not flourish its upper stroke in the air. On the other hand, that I is distressingly like L; and T has a foot which sometimes might deceive us into thinking it an I, though in fact there is rarely any doubt in this manuscript. P has a tiny curl and a large foot, and V is beginning to be round, though the junction of its two halves is nearly always perfect. The finials also (in *a*, *u*, *i*, *m*, *f*, *y*, *p*) and the cross of *t* and the feet of *e* and *l* all







begin to fancy themselves : they have an air as if to say, "we too have a daintiness of our own." It is a pretty piece of writing, and the writer knew it. I must confess my own impression that these peculiarities on the whole point to a somewhat later date than that of the Medicean ; and I am greatly confirmed by the judgment of Professor E. H. Minns who writes to me on 13th April, 1931 : "I am inclined to put the Mediceus before the Palatinus which I regard as rather artificial, not altogether unlike the Romanus. . . . I think *P* and *R* with *A* the latest and most artificial."

Fig. 6 shows a page of the Romanus ; a glance at the last line will show most of its peculiarities. T has a very small top, B and R are closed, and R is inclined to wave his tail ; the first stroke of M is nearly upright, and H and F approach the forms they have in the Verona Palimpsest (Fig. 7). Even apart from other characteristics, such as the use of the Christian abbreviation  $\overline{DS}$  for *dominus*, there is no doubt that this codex is far later than those we have been considering, perhaps as late as the sixth century.

A	K K k	Q
B B	I I I	R
C C	L	S
D	M	I I I
E E E	N	U
F	O	
G G	P P	X

FIG. 7.—Signs used in the Veronese Palimpsest.

Fig. 7 gives specimens of the letters used in the Vergilian part of the Palimpsest of Verona. (A Palimpsest, of course, means a parchment or paper which has been used twice, in the way in which our grandmothers used to cross their letters). By the use of chemicals the later writing has been removed leaving the older writing just visible. But the signs are faint and so near the colour of the page that they are not easily photographed, as a glance at the (almost illegible) page of it given by Châtelain in his great *Paléographie des classiques Latins* (Vergil section) will show. Hence I can only give here a table of the alphabet

as I roughly transcribed it in April, 1930. See then what has happened by (say) the fifth century ; B has almost lost its top ; C and D have been narrowed, and C is developing a crest ; E has a large foot and a small head ; F flourishes its top stroke in the air ; G and H and P have been strangely modified ; I has become too much like L and T too much like I ; and R and Q have let their tails grow very long. Altogether it is a hand embellished and tricked out in a thoroughly fanciful way.

What then is the conclusion of the whole matter so far as the Medicean is concerned ? Of the other manuscripts of Vergil in rustic Capitals the nearest to M are the Vatican Fragments (3225), generally known as F, of which the John Rylands Library possesses a facsimile. On both of them I cordially subscribe to the opinion of the able and learned collator of the Medicean, Dr. Max Hoffmann (*Codex Mediceus des Vergilius*, Berlin, 1889, p. xv.), though he only put it forward as an alternative which he did not regard as proved. His reason for hesitation was that he felt bound to leave open as a possibility the view of Ribbeck that the codex was not the actual manuscript on which Asterius entered his remarks. If, however, it could be shown (as I think has been shown above) that the codex was that which Asterius actually had in his hand, in that case Dr. Hoffmann admitted that the age must be judged by its writing. Of this and of that of the Vatican Fragments, he says that both seem to him 'not at all far from the writing of the papyri of the second or even the first century.'

Its resemblance to the Diploma, which we have studied, seems to me to justify us in referring it to a period, and not at all a late period, in the second century.

[After kindly glancing at the proof of this Appendix, Mr. B. Schofield suggested that I should compare the hand of the Medicean with that of two datable papyri in rustic capitals, both of the second century A.D. One is given in *New Palæog. Soc. Facsim.*, Series ii. 186, the register (*pridianum*) of a cohort in Moesia about 102 A.D. ; the other is given by H. J. M. Milne, *Catal. Literary Papyri in Br. Mus.* 184, plate XI, a fragment of a grammarian's treatise which is written on the back of a list of consuls including the year 153 A.D., and is therefore later than that date.

Both of these documents, in most of the test-letters (*b, e, h, i, m,*



*p*, *r*, *l*) show forms which are more sophisticated (in the later document considerably more) than the simple forms used by *M*; though the grammarian lengthens *f* by stretching its hasta far below the line.

In every respect the writing of *M* is nearer to that of the Diploma of 94 A.D. than it is to that of these papyri.

This appears to me to give strong support to the view of the date of *M* which I have stated above. All the comparisons I have made throw into clearer light the character of the scribe or scribes (probably two trained in the same school) who wrote the Medicean. They were thoughtful scholars, ready to adopt the reforms of their day, such as the heightened F and L which were manifest improvements, but yet in all other respects carefully following the best tradition they knew. And their attitude to the text they were copying or editing might, I think, be described in exactly the same words.]

R. S. C.

St. Albans, June, 1931.

## SOME ENGLISH DOCUMENTS OF THE CONCILIAR MOVEMENT.<sup>1</sup>

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THE Great Schism had dragged on for thirty years. "We in England," said Archbishop Arundel in 1408, "have till now taken little pains to work for union, by reason of which our prestige is manifestly weakened." In broad outline this statement from his writ summoning the July Convocation appears depressingly accurate. It was echoed with polite similarity five days later by the official of the Court of Canterbury, Mr. Henry Ware, in announcing the decision of the two committees which had been debating the matter. "It has long been incumbent upon Englishmen, especially upon us prelates and clergy, to restore and unify the seamless garment of Christ. . . . Yet we are said to have done little or nothing, and the result is to diminish the conspicuous good name of England."<sup>2</sup> It may have been characteristic of English conservatism or, perhaps, of English inertia, that the Roman, as against the Avignonese, pontiff was supported right down to the summer of 1408: that there was no withdrawal of obedience, like that of France in 1398, nor declaration of neutrality. Collectors like Lodovico of Volterra came, nuncii like Carlo Brancacci drew their due procurations with official support; Boniface IX might even revoke his privileges and indulgences and call down upon himself (little as he would be affected by it) the indignation of the St. Albans Chronicler,<sup>3</sup> but the working, if at times uneasy, compromise between the English monarch and the Roman

<sup>1</sup> A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on 4 March, 1931.

<sup>2</sup> Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, 307, 309.

<sup>3</sup> *Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti*, ed. Riley, p. 350; for the revocation, see E. Ottenhal, *Regulae Cancellariae Apostolicae*, Boniface IX, no. 68 (22 Dec. 1402); *Cal. Papal Letters*, v, 535, 583, and vi, 89.

Pope had continued. As long as Boniface IX or Gregory XII did not press too hard for the revocation of the Provisors enactment of 1390 or challenge what Henry IV described later as "the statutes and ordinances of the Kingdom, issued by the assent of all the estates (*statuum*) and hitherto observed,"<sup>1</sup> nothing serious seemed to occur. Yet if English minds moved slowly before 1408, they did at all events move. Behind official correctness there was a good deal of genuine alarm at the obvious scandal of the situation, and to suppose that there was no constructive thinking on the matter would be erroneous. It may be worth asking whether Mr. Ware's *modicum aut nichil* was not rather too despairing an account of the general attitude of the English Church.

From a metropolitan's point of view, to judge by later events, it was probably not. The clergy were slow either to pay or to pray. The January Convocation of 1409 voted 4d. in the pound for the expenses of the delegation about to start for the Council of Pisa (this to include the 1½d. voted the previous July), the money to be paid before next St. Gregory's day to Mr. Richard Brynkley, dean of St. Mary Arches, and Mr. John Perche, Registrar of the Court of Canterbury.<sup>2</sup> The writ ordering the collection of the balance was dated 31 January, 1409. From his London dwelling Bishop Robert Hallam of Salisbury gave orders some ten days before his departure<sup>3</sup> with the Pisan delegation for the money to be collected by archdeaconries in his diocese and paid to the collectors. At the beginning of May, 1409, Adam Mottram, Hallam's Vicar-General, received, via the Bishop of London, Arundel's mandate to expedite the collection. "The negligence of our suffragans and their sloth over the collection of the subsidy is plain and manifest to all. Two months have passed beyond the term of payment and scarce has the seventh penny been paid (*et vix septenus denarius est solutus*); wherefore, we wonder greatly that, as it seemeth to us, they hold God's cause so cheap."<sup>4</sup> Two months is not serious arrears for a mediæval subsidy. It is another

<sup>1</sup> Add. MS. 24062, fol. 155 v. (1409). For the expression "the lords and other estates in Parliament" used as early as 1407, cf. *Proc. Privy Council*, i, 301.

<sup>2</sup> *Concilia*, iii, 312; for July, *ibid.*, 310, and *Reg. Roberti Mascall*, p. 66.

<sup>3</sup> Which took place round about 16 February.

<sup>4</sup> *Reg. Hallam*, part ii, fol. 25. (The expression "part ii" is used since there are two successive series of foliations in Hallam's Register.)

story when we find in January, 1415, Archbishop Chichele declaring, in connection with a new subsidy of 2d. in the pound for the delegates at Constance, that of the earlier 4d. in the pound payable to the Pisan delegates some was still in the hands of the collectors, whilst numbers of the clergy had not paid at all.<sup>1</sup> Later on in the spring a letter addressed by the Archbishop to Robert Hallam at Constance ends with a striking sentence: "In the matter of the money owed you from this province, God knows, my brothers and the vicars of those absent, whose duty it is to raise the sums required, are behaving with negligence, although I have requested them both personally and through my officials; as soon as they send in the money, it shall be paid to you without delay".<sup>2</sup> No doubt ecclesiastics had observed with what foresight the Commons at the beginning of Henry IV's reign, when piously asking the King to use his influence to unify the Church, had expressly stipulated that this should involve "no great charge or cost".<sup>3</sup> Nor were the clergy or laity more profuse with their prayers. In the Register of Bishop Hallam occurs a remarkable letter from the primate, complaining of the lukewarmness of their devotion in carrying out his requests for prayers and processions on behalf of the peace and unity of the Church and for "the most Christian prince Sigismund, King of the Romans, who has laboured and still labours fervently for the union of Holy Mother Church and peace among kings and princes". After giving several examples of the power of prayer in history and commending to their notice "the most confident hope that the serene prince and king Henry [V] has in its efficacy," the arch-

<sup>1</sup> Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, 375-376.

<sup>2</sup> Royal MS. 10 B. IX, fol. 59 v.: "De pecuniis vobis a clero provincie debitis, novit Deus, confratres mei et absentes (i.e. absentium) vicarii, quarum levacio est de presenti, negligenter se habent, licet ipsos sollicitaverim personaliter et per meos; quam cicius ipsas introduxerint, absque more dispendio vestris persolventur". The date of this letter can be seen from the sentence "Celebrato festo sancti Georgii [23 April] habitoque ultimo huius mensis die [30 April] apud R. consilio, rex versus partes transmarinas exercitu copioso se divertit". That this is not a reference to Henry's second expedition (1417) other parts of the letter make clear. In the only records of these payments which I have been able to find, the farmer's accounts for the New College living of Adderbury, the payments seem to have been made punctually. T. F. Hobson, *Adderbury Rectoria* (Oxfordshire Record Society, 1926), pp. 2, 14, 16.

<sup>3</sup> *Rot. Parl.*, iii, 456 (10 March, 1401).

bishop gives instructions for special suffrages to be said in the dioceses, until the prelates are told to do otherwise (*donec aliud habueritis in mandatis*, an echo of the royal formula.)<sup>1</sup>

In academic circles, as in Paris University, the atmosphere was very different. The Conciliar Movement was largely a University movement. Conciliar theory from Durandus onwards had had a long and predominantly scholastic ancestry;<sup>2</sup> it was not confined to continental *studia*, for the treatise of the Minorite Provincial Nicholas of Fakenham, though written in 1395, shows clearly that the doctrine of *epikeia*, propounded, among others, by Henry of Hesse at Paris, had crossed the channel and had been discussed.<sup>3</sup> Paris, as all know, was the main source of propaganda; her's was the effort to mobilise opinion and end the Schism by securing the adoption of one of her "three ways". Her main approach to Oxford did not materialise until Richard II was negotiating over his second marriage, and the policy of *rapprochement* with France was being thought out in its various implications. In Paris the earlier Anglo-German Conciliar enthusiasm had received a set back from the strongly Gallican attitude of the Court and of the theologians and medicals, while the artists tended to be divided according to their nations. By 1395, in spite of the fears expressed by the cautious and moderate Gerson, the University was putting out all its forces to canvas the universities and courts of Europe in

<sup>1</sup>Reg. Hallam, part ii, fol. 38 v. "Plurium tamen nostre prouincie subditorum relatione concepimus quod circa premissa (the prayers) tam cleri quam populi tepescit devotio que ad preces huiusmodi fundendas accendi debeat." This letter is in Reg. Chichele, ii, fols. 300 v., 301. For his earlier request for processions and prayers on Sigismund's behalf, see Note A, p. 49. In May 1417 Chichele sent out yet another mandate for prayers to be made, this time on Henry V's behalf, since some, *tepiditate causante*, were "ceasing to pray for the King". Reg. Chichele, ii, fols. 324, 324 v. Perhaps Henry V's warfare was not as popular as has been made out.

<sup>2</sup>For studies of its development see Franz Bliemetzrieder, *Das Generalkonzil in grossen abendländischen Schisma* (Paderborn, 1904), pp. 104-190; his valuable *Literarische Polemik zu Beginn des grossen abendländischen Schismas* (Vienna, 1909); and Andreas Posch, *Die "Concordantia Catholica" des Nikolaus von Cusa* (Paderborn, 1930), pp. 36-61.

<sup>3</sup>Printed by Fr. Bliemetzrieder in *Archivum Franciscanum*, i, 577-600; ii, 79-91. For *epikeia* see ii, 80 f. Nicholas says that he writes "ad excitandum filios matris nostre Universitatis Oxonie" (p. 91). He was evidently put on to the task by Richard II.



favour of *cessio*, the resignation of both pontiffs. In the autumn of that year its ambassadors crossed to England and sought out Richard II. They came, it seems, armed with a general epistle to "all Christ's faithful during the schism" (dated 26 August), and with a special covering letter addressed to Oxford. The embassy never saw St. Mary's. Richard kept its members at Westminster, fearing perhaps, as Valois suggests, that Anglo-French rivalries might lead to disturbances in Oxford, should the French appear in Convocation.<sup>1</sup> He sent on the "general epistle," and let the abbot of Mont St. Michel expound to him the whole case for resignation. This was printed by Du Boulay,<sup>2</sup> with the somewhat Gallican observation that the solution proposed by the University of Paris and "put down in writing by the Abbot of Mont St. Michel" was made the object of a destructive attack by the University of Oxford "not out of a desire to seek peace, but out of emulation and envy".<sup>3</sup> As the late Mr. J. P. Gilson noticed, Du Boulay did not print the "general epistle," to which the Oxford reply of 1396, transmitted to the king, is the direct answer.<sup>4</sup> It seems probable that he thought it to have been substantially the same as the abbot's oration, but it is indubitably not, though it naturally bears a definite relation to the other document.

In the Royal Manuscript in which this "general epistle" occurs,<sup>5</sup> it is termed *Compilacio Universitatis Parisiensis*. It is a long homiletic appeal for the resignation of the contending Popes, as being *magis ydonea et compendiosa*, for four reasons: *ex parte vie* (because

<sup>1</sup> *La France et le Grand Schisme d'Occident*, iii, 76. The covering letter is printed in Bulaeus, *Historia Universitatis Parisiensis*, iv, 751-752. This certainly cannot be the "Epistola quaedam a studio Parisiensi elaborata . . . et multiplici rationum congerie roborata" of which the Oxford reply speaks. The "rationes" belong to the epistle analysed below.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, iv, 755-772.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, iv, 775.

<sup>4</sup> *Catalogue of Royal and King's Manuscripts in the British Museum*, i, 153 (no. 22). The "emulation" would be more true of their letter in 1399: see *infra*, p. 367, and n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> 6. E. III, fols. 77-80. This manuscript belonged to Magdalen College, Oxford, "ex dono magistri Ricardi Lagharun," once Fellow of the College. Compiled round about 1450, it contains among its various items a number of anti-Lollard tracts, the "De reformatione Ecclesiae" and the "De Potestate Ecclesiae" of Pierre D'Ailly and Richard Ullerston's treatise on reform (on whom *cf. infra*, pp. 39-40).

the other solutions are more hazardous and uncertain), *ex parte cause*, *ex parte contendencium* and *ex parte sancte Matris Ecclesie*. The first of these emanates from a four-fold fount—*facilitas*, *securitas*, *perfectio* and the preservation of the honour of the obediences. The difficulty of summoning a general council “from the remotest parts of the earth, practically from the vast circuit of the whole universe” is insisted upon: <sup>1</sup> a council might be a nest of intrigue and dissension; under divine inspiration it may, perhaps, be free from error in matters of faith, but if wrong information is given to it, it is certainly liable to be deceived.<sup>2</sup> The way of resignation, however, is not only more secure and involves less risk of *falsa suggestio*, it is also more to be recommended on moral grounds (*perfectior*), since the resigning parties would be following Christ’s command and example.<sup>3</sup> It would allow the honour of the various nationalities (*decus regnorum principum et populorum*) to remain undamaged, “without the label of error or infamy” which might accrue where a council had resorted to deposition.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, what judge or judicial body could settle the quarrel? A council could not sit in judgment upon one Pope or the other. From the standpoint of the contending parties, resignation would confer eternal glory upon those who consented to it; <sup>5</sup> it would put an end to war in Christendom, to this madness in our own household that turns citizen against citizen and the members against the head. Lastly,<sup>6</sup> the Church calls for a remedy for her desolation; and the letter ends with a florid address of the mother to her children of every age and degree and sex, bidding them have pity on her dejection, her pallor

<sup>1</sup> Fol. 77 v.: “Quis enim est qui nesciat multo facilius esse duos homines per quos stat hoc sisma iuri suo propter pacem, si filii pacis sunt, cedere, quod in momento temporis solo utriusque verbo eodemque breuissimo factum esset, quam concilium aliquid generale de distantissimis terrarum partibus et totius pene orbis vastissimo circuitu convocare . . .”.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*: “Est namque valde multorum opinio, quamquam impossibile sit in illis que fidei sunt generale concilium ab errore, sacro ipsum dirigente spiritu, [falli], in hiis tamen que facti [*sic*] sunt ex falsa suggestione aut mendacibus testibus, falli aut errore [*rectius* errare] posse, ipso scilicet spiritu veritatis propter mendacem spiritum prevalentem deserente”.

<sup>3</sup> Fol. 78.

<sup>4</sup> Fol. 78 v.

<sup>5</sup> Fol. 79: “O felices et fortunatos homines quorum iam in manu est per vocis significacionem brevissime paradysum promer[er]i, vitam eternam habere, quin et bonos esse”.

<sup>6</sup> Fol. 79 v.: “Et certe bellum plus quam ciuile, quod si quis apto nomine velit appellare, domesticum furorem dicere poterit”.

and misery : an appeal which, its writers declare, "is being heard and taken up by all circumcised hearts and ears," so that "their consent and the universal cry of the faithful for this way (of cession) seems in a sort equivalent to a general council."<sup>1</sup> Convocation did not think so : *nobis videtur longe aliter sentiendum* was the view taken at Oxford. The reply which the University forwarded to the king was a sober and entirely unrheterical demolition of the Parisian thesis. That the way of resignation would be "easier," the Oxford masters wholly deny : it is a common saying, they remark, that the anti-pope, though elected only to resign under certain definite conditions, has no mind to give way. Resignation, too, unaccompanied by conditions (*nuda*), does not heal the dissension and perplexity in the Church ; there would have to be in addition a council, whether general or particular, or some method of compromise discovered, unless it is intended that both obediences should also resign with their respective pontiffs ; but in that case how would the Church elect a new pope ?<sup>2</sup> Nor is resignation a "safer" method : the spirit of dissension would remain long afterwards, harming men's consciences and generating remorse or disquieting scruple. Only free and unfettered discussion in public can quieten and reassure men's minds ; the stifling of grievances is the worst source of trouble, and the way of resignation would make no provision against such inhibitions. Further, there is no reason why a council should be more easily corruptible than any other of the methods suggested.<sup>3</sup> If resignation is urged on moral grounds, is it not necessary to prove that both the parties are creating a scandal and an enormity by retaining the Papacy ? And can this be justly said of Boniface ?<sup>4</sup> Nor can the texts from the Sermon on the Mount be legitimately employed in this context. Humility and surrender of one's goods, when it involves danger to one's subordinates (*preiudicium subditorum*), is not to be justified. To refuse legal means of defending oneself and patiently to suffer injury was not St. Paul's way : he appealed to Cæsar ; and we have as an example the attitude of

<sup>1</sup> Fol. 80 : "Ymmo consensus idem et universalis clamatio fidelium pro via ista videtur equiparari quodammodo concilio generali".

<sup>2</sup> Bulaeus, *op. cit.*, iv, 778.

<sup>3</sup> P. 779.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* : "neque enim dicendus est in Ecclesie perniciem praesidere qui iuste intronizatus non praeesse desiderat sed prodesse, timens suae dignitati renunciare, ne forte Ecclesia maiori exponatur periculo et graviore incursione turbetur".

Gregory the Great to the text of St. Paul which has been quoted as a justification of such passivity : "The Apostle has given us warning that we shall preserve humility in our minds and yet maintain the dignity of our order in all honour ; so that we shall not display a fearful humility nor an overweening presumption".<sup>1</sup> The example of Christ laying down his life is equally irrelevant. If the shepherd has to renounce his dignity for the salvation of his flock, why should he not equally be bound to retain it for their salvation ? These biblical citations are, in fact, capable of other explanations. The constructive part of their letter Convocation left till the end. The way we offer, they say, is one that not only brings back peace but corrects the errors that abound in the Church ; subject to Pope Boniface's approval and the consent of Catholic prelates and princes, it is that of a General Council. This has scriptural and historical justification, as Gregory the Great's example shows us ;<sup>2</sup> it is superior to the other methods in dignity, authority and in conformity with the demands of the situation (*factorum factis conformitate*). How otherwise can an end be put to this impossible position, unless a new type of remedy is applied, and one that will deal not merely with the fact of the Schism, but with the whole background of doctrinal error and administrative misgovernment ? *Sed difficilior . . . sed timendum*, opponents say. Is this any reason for thinking that we should take the narrow path leading to destruction or imagine that there will be nothing but disagreement in such a body as the Council ? In a General Council people are more sincere in their zeal, less partisan than at other times, and, above all else, the grace of the Holy Spirit co-operating with them is more effective. The difficulties raised by Paris against the Council are best met when they are actually encountered ; those which are not provided against by canon or by precedent might best be discussed by the leading churchmen of the Province (*seniores provinciae*). What is above everything else necessary is that the parties should come together for mutual discussion, which is the foundation of any further measure, whatever that may be."

<sup>1</sup> P. 780 (printed as 788) reading "timida" for the difficult "tumida" (humilitas) of the printed text.

<sup>2</sup> P. 783 : "patet ex hoc quod magnus sanctus et doctor Gregorius venerari se quatuor Concilia generalia tanquam quatuor evangelia profitetur".

<sup>3</sup> P. 784.



The University did not depart from its view on the second occasion of its consultation. In 1398, after the formal withdrawal of obedience by France, another effort was made, this time by the French Court in conjunction with the University of Paris, to secure a French-English-Castilian agreement in favour of the voluntary abdication of the two Popes. Richard II was out of sympathy with the line taken by Oxford; he leaned, like his new French allies, towards *cessio*. His ambassadors had urged it at the Frankfort Reichstag in July, 1397;<sup>1</sup> but he had still got to overcome the resistance of the University. At the end of 1398 Paris sounded him again,<sup>2</sup> with the request that he should go further and follow the French example in withdrawing obedience. The king was not slow in asking Oxford for its reply. The Regent and non-Regent Masters met in St. Mary's on 5 February, 1399. Their answer, preserved in a Bodleian manuscript, shows that they realised the gravity of the step, but could not commit themselves to taking it.<sup>3</sup> After maintaining the canonicity of Boniface IX's election and stressing the need for discipline and obedience to authority in the Church,<sup>4</sup> they set forth at some length the arguments for a General Council. They professed themselves ready to send over twelve of their younger doctors (*de nostris tironibus xii doctores electos*) to uphold their thesis against that of their Paris colleagues.<sup>5</sup> That the suggested negotiations ended fruitlessly appears from another letter from Oxford to Richard II, written, it seems, in reply to further solicitations from the French University. This document, preserved among the Vatican documents upon the Schism, betrays more than a touch of irritation at the renewed initiative on the part of Paris. The French masters think that all must do as they desire and "practise as they practice, as if there was no *studium* anywhere but with them": "that in no other place can the water of life-giving wisdom be drunk

<sup>1</sup> *Deutsche Reichstagsakten*, ed. Weizsäcker, i, 460-461. I owe this reference to Mr. F. D. Hodgkiss.

<sup>2</sup> For the French embassy, sent by Charles VI, see Valois, *op. cit.*, iii, 291-292.

<sup>3</sup> Bodleian Library, MS. Digby 188, fol. 49 v.: "Nobis tamen sepius visum est quod medium negacionis obediencie tanquam sanctius iustus et breuius iam oblatum viam cessionis ultronee alias speculative discussam omnino reddit infamem, nichil penitus bonitatis in ea relinquens."

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, fols. 47 v., 48.

<sup>5</sup> Fols. 61, 61 v. Cf. Anthony Wood, *History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford*, i., 534-5.



from Jacob's well, since it is deep, that no disputation can be held beneath the shade of any other mountain save their own Parnassus". Boniface IX has offered to summon a General Council. This offer should be accepted, rather than the Paris proposal. They ask Richard II to remain loyal to Boniface "in the obedience which you have undertaken in full parliament with your clergy and people subject to you, and which you and your prelates, lords and commons have unanimously sworn to maintain". Richard is exhorted not to support the schismatics: "let your royal purity shrink in horror from providing fresh incentive to the Schism; for your royal majesty does not waver in the matter of the faith, which itself touches the head of the Church".<sup>1</sup> The allusion is, of course, to Lollardy: but the implication of wavering in other matters of ecclesiastical politics is obvious and may not have been lost upon the Francophil Richard.

At present we do not know to what extent the conciliar views of Oxford were shared by the English clergy, regular or secular, before 1400. It is possible that many still clung, in spite of provocation, to the Roman pontiff, and believed that the anti-pope must be made to resign. A figure like the Avignonese-minded John de Ayton must have been an exception. The house of St. Alban was nothing if not orthodox in such matters. We are fortunate enough to possess among the treatises and *quaestiones* of its archdeacon, Nicholas Radcliff, a determination upon the attitude which in his judgment this country should adopt towards the contending parties.<sup>2</sup> The form of his arguments, the way in which he uses the identical scriptural quotations that occur in the Paris epistle analysed above and the character of his references to Boniface IX lead one to suspect that this particular *quaestio* was written not long after 1395, and probably before 1399, since he alludes to John of Gaunt in a manner to suggest that the duke was still living.<sup>3</sup> The manuscript containing the work bears the arms

<sup>1</sup> Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici* (Lucca, 1752), viii, 34-35. Of the withdrawal of obedience the Oxford masters speak with caution: "nec damnamus nec simpliciter improbamus".

<sup>2</sup> Royal MS. 6 D. X, fols. 277 v. to 281 v. On the fly-leaf are the words: "Hic est liber de conventu monasterii sancti Albani quem quicumque alienauerit a dicto monasterio vel titulum deleuerit anathema sit amen".

<sup>3</sup> In addressing the antipope he speaks (fol. 281) of "tue littere quas propria manu scripsisti et Regi Aragonie destinasti . . . Has litteras dux Lancastrie me audiente asseruit se vidisse et in eisdem literis se legisse quomodo certificasti dominum regem Aragonie quod dominus Urbanus sextus erat canonice electus in papatum".

both of St. Alban's and of Tynemouth (gules, three crowns, or) on its illuminated title-page, and the fact that the last treatise, *Contra querelas fratrum* is, apparently on Bale's authority, attributed to Utrid of Boldon<sup>1</sup> suggests that the book may later have been lent to the abbey's northern cell. Nicholas was prior of Wymondham before he came to St. Alban's to be archdeacon; he may have become prior of St. Alban's into the bargain, for in Wyntershulle's Formulary at Cambridge, the majority of which seem to have been written between 1382 and 1386,<sup>2</sup> there are several commissions to "Nicholas the Prior," though, naturally enough, the latter's identification with Nicholas the archdeacon must remain uncertain in default of better evidence. Our writer was evidently *malleus Lollardorum*. The two *quaestiones* which precede the one with which we are concerned have a direct bearing on the issues raised by that sect: whether vows of religion, chastity and virginity introduced by the fathers and approved by the Church *praeter legem evangelicam* could lawfully and worthily be observed; and whether it was lawful for a Christian to reverence and adore images of the Crucified and His most pious Mother and other Saints.<sup>3</sup>

The third *quaestio* asks whether to compose the scandal of the schism Pope Boniface together with the anti-pope is bound to resign: but before the replies to the *arguitur quod sic* are finally made, a second problem is raised and settled: whether Pope Boniface is bound to consent at all to any one of the "three ways," resignation, compromise or General Council, in order to stop the schism. The answer to this query being found emphatically in the negative, the earlier *quaestio* can be resolved in favour of Boniface's remaining and the anti-pope resigning. The argument in favour of resignation is presented on eleven grounds: the most prominent of these are the general

<sup>1</sup> *Catalogue of Royal MSS.*, i, 150.

<sup>2</sup> Cambridge Univ. Library, MS. Ee. 420, fol. 1: "Registrum de diversis commissionibus, procuratoriis, mandatis aliisque literis multum necessariis et in communem usum in dies convolantibus editum per fratrem Willelmum Wyntershulle, domini Thome Abbatis capellanum, anno domini millesimo, tricentesimo, octagesimo secundo". The section on the *dictamen*, fols. 152-177, is in a later (fifteenth century) hand.

<sup>3</sup> Fol. 229 f. The Lollard attack upon images was the cause of a number of treatises *de adoracione et veneracione ymaginum*, e.g. Royal MS. 6 E. III, fol. 59; Merton College, Oxford, MS. CCCXVIII, fol. 118 v. (John Deverose).

utility of the Church, and the need for self-sacrifice on the part of the supreme pastor, supported by numerous biblical citations and examples ; e.g. Christ, although he was Son of God, the creator of the whole mechanism of the world (*tocius machine mundialis*), although he was *summus pontifex ac pastor ecclesie militantis*, yet laid down his life : Boniface is Christ's representative, *ergo*.—Charity seeketh not her own : the popes should have greater charity than others, since, as Fitz Ralph (*Armachanus*) says, St. Peter deserved the papacy through his burning charity, and it follows that charity does not retain what she has got, if it is to the scandal of others.—Matt. v, 40, "And if any man would go to law with thee, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloke also" : the doctors of the Church show that the truly moral man (*quilibet vir perfectus*) will prefer to suffer the loss of his property by robbers rather than resist to the scandal of others.<sup>1</sup> Boniface is certainly *vir perfectus* and should follow the Saviour's command. These and other points are met at the end, after the subordinate *quaestio* has been settled, by the contention that Boniface is not morally bound to give up his dignity, since he did not originate the *schismatica pravitas* ; nor is it necessary for him to lay down his life for the sheep, since the schism is not detracting from the true fold : it perplexes and disturbs the sheep of Boniface, but does not seduce them from the unity of the Church.<sup>2</sup>

The argument against resignation—and it should be noted that although according to its wording the *quaestio* envisages the resignation of *both* popes, it is more frequently Boniface's resignation that the author is examining—is primarily based upon Boniface's valid and canonical succession, and upon the chaos and confusion which would arise if his title were doubted. His indulgences would go by the board, ordinations would be a matter of doubt, all who had confessed in hope of the remission of their sins would be thrown into uncertainty and perplexity.<sup>3</sup> If both resigned, then general doubt would be cast

<sup>1</sup> Fol. 277 v. to 278.

<sup>2</sup> Fol. 280 v.

<sup>3</sup> Fol. 278 v. : If Boniface's title were doubted, then "omnes cardinales, episcopi, rectores et vicarii ab eo gracie promoti et omnes quibus ab eo concesse sunt indulgentie in extremis et [qui] in ultimo jubileo putabant se plenarie remissionem suorum consequi peccatorum de suis gratis fluctuarent. Item omnes presbiteri, diaconi et ecclesiastici ab huiusmodi episcopis ordinati de suis ordinibus hesitarent, necnon et omnes tam literati quam laici ab huiusmodi presbiteris confessati de remissione suorum peccaminum incerti fierent et perplexi".

upon promotions to the cardinalate in either quarter ;<sup>1</sup> moreover, if Boniface was to synchronise his resignation with that of the anti-pope the anti-pope's party would certainly meet in conclave and elect another pope, so that the last error would be worse than the first. Furthermore, if both resigned and a single new election took place, only the cardinals who survived from pre-schismatic days would be legally entitled to elect the new Pope ; the rest would be disqualified.<sup>2</sup> But is Boniface bound to take any one of the *tres vie* at all ? In order to compel him to do so it would be necessary either to impugn his title or establish the right of certain determinate human persons to sit in judgment upon the supreme pontiff. The second point Nicholas takes first. It is argued, he says, that bishops to-day (*moderni*) have as much power as the apostles, since they are their legitimate successors ; but the apostles had the same power as Peter, neither more nor less ; "since therefore the Church of Christ has greater power than any of its bishops, it would seem to follow that the power of the Church is greater than that of the supreme pontiff and that the power of Pope Boniface is liable to coercion."<sup>3</sup> Moreover, it might appear from the circumstances of Matthias' election in the Acts that all bishops were equal ; and we read that when Stephen and six others were chosen, the multitude of the faithful set them before the twelve apostles and they laid their hands upon them. To these arguments the reply is made that in law, except for heresy, the Pope need submit to no court save the *forum poenitentiae* or unless he volunteers to purge himself of any charge. He is not bound to submit the question of his election to examination or to have his title discussed. But it would be simplest, say Boniface's opponents, if a General Council, "collected from the remotest parts of the earth and the vast circuit of the whole universe" (here is the phrase again) were summoned. The other *viae* are long and contentious. This would be the best way of quieting men's consciences and of tearing up the schism by the

<sup>1</sup> Fol. 279 : "presumpcio magna foret de eorum cardinalibus creatis ab eis post inptionem scismatice pravtatis quod non habuerunt verum titulum sui status".

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Fol. 279 v. : "cum ergo ecclesia Christi maiorem quam aliquis episcoporum habeat potestatem, sequi videatur quod potestas ecclesie maior est potestate summi pontificis et quod potestas pape Bonifacii coercibilis est".



roots.<sup>1</sup> But, replies Nicholas, if this general assembly is held, the same radical division is bound to make itself felt there; moreover, a council is not in itself a quicker way than resignation or compromise; and what need is there in reality for any of these methods? The title of Boniface is so conspicuously clear that it removes all doubt, and his conduct supports the verity of his title; the anti-pope has with his own mouth admitted that Urban VI was canonically elected, and Boniface is his true and canonical successor. The work ends with a fervid exhortation to the anti-pope to admit his schismatical guilt and submit to the powers of Europe, not to allow Christ's seamless tunic to remain in pieces, and to "the pillars of the Church," prelates, doctors, masters, professors of evangelical truth to unify her and to give the right answer to the Lollards, who oppress her. Finally, a similar appeal is made to those who are *speciali privilegio filiacionis aliis prerogati*.<sup>2</sup> Are these the Benedictines?

The *quaestio* does not show Nicholas as a constructive thinker. Most of his arguments could be utilised by the anti-pope's party against Boniface. Nicholas cannot admit that Boniface's title might be called in question; he cannot conceive of any mitigation of the rigour of canon law. One may imagine with what despair Gerson or Robert Hallam would have regarded such conservatism. Still, it must be remembered that we are yet in a comparatively early stage of conciliar speculation, and it does not do to anticipate. The references to the consequence of resignation upon the obediences and upon the validity of ordinations suggest that the treatise belongs to the early period of *nuda* rather than of *practicata cessio*; that is, to the time when discussion turned upon resignation without mitigating provision or safeguards against the difficulties that might arise therefrom; it advocates for one of the contending parties a course which the Paris intellectuals after 1395 rejected as, in its simple form, too rigorous and detrimental for the Church. That this view about the English method of interpreting *cessio* was taken in France appears from two Paris treatises, both belonging to the controversial literature of

<sup>1</sup> Fol. 281: "Hec insuper via est plana et directa, nullis prorsus scopulis seu sentibus impedita: alie vero vie difficiles sunt et longe atque perplexe et per plurimos affectus ad exitum producentes. Hec etiam via est securior eo quod per eam magis quam per alium quietabuntur hominum consciencie utrobique et scisma cessaret radicitus extirpatum".

<sup>2</sup> Fol. 281.



1398 or thereabouts.<sup>1</sup> Copies of these are preserved in Balliol College MS. 165 B, a collection of treatises and extracts from the literature of the Schism, in a variety of hands, brought together, I would conjecture, somewhere about the time of the Council of Basel.<sup>2</sup> To judge by the amount of material included upon the Spanish Pope, this fifteenth century editor's main interest here has been in Benedict XIII. The treatises, "Anonymi cuiusdam doctoris Parisiensis Allegationes in materia et facto subtractionis" and "Allegationes pro subtractione ab obedientia concertantium de papatu" carry their aim upon the surface, but their interest here lies in their similar report of the attitude taken in Paris towards the criticisms conveyed in the Oxford letter of 1396: the *cessio* envisaged in that letter, some had urged, was not the resignation which might be contrived along the lines suggested by the French prelates. The Oxford letter "speaks only of *simple* resignation, and there is no mention in it of a negotiated settlement". The negotiations now suggested by Paris were that the two contending parties should meet in some safe place accessible to both, such as Genoa, and then, with their cardinals in attendance, "solemnly revoke all processes made by the one against the other and by their adherents, and absolve each other as best they can: and after that let them confirm the collations of benefices and the promotions made by either side;"<sup>3</sup> in the case where there are two bishops

<sup>1</sup> On which see Valois, *op. cit.*, iii, 266-272. Valois does not mention these particular works.

<sup>2</sup> They are edited with marginals and occasional headings by a mid-fifteenth century hand; but the script of several of the quires seems earlier and more contemporary with the events described. The watermarks, which Mr. Mynors has kindly traced out, are probably French, contrasting with the predominantly South German origin of those in Balliol College MSS. 164, 165A and 166. Probably it was possible to buy Conciliar treatises and sermons or to acquire them through the copying services of booksellers (*cf.* in this connexion the Florentine Vespasiano Bisticci who got books copied for William de Grey). They could then be bound up together, as was sometimes done very unsystematically, to serve as exemplars.

<sup>3</sup> Balliol College MS. 165 B., p. 77 (*cf.* p. 109): "Nec obstat quod dicitur de epistola Oxonensis studii quia nuda cessio nisi bene patricata [*sic*, written above the word, 'patricata'—the writer was evidently unfamiliar with the French expression '*pratiqué*'] non sufficeret ad sedacionem scismatis ut ipsi dicunt respondendo ad epistolam Universitatis Parisiensis [*analysed above*, pp. 7-9], que epistola solum loquitur de cessione et non sit in eadem mencio de practica; sed practicata per modum deliberatum per prelatos Francie

claiming one Church, he who is in possession of the Cathedral city shall remain bishop, while the other shall draw a pension assigned to him out of the episcopal revenues".<sup>1</sup> Certainly *practica* had something to be said for it, as the fifteenth century editor of the Balliol volume showed in his marginal comment,<sup>2</sup> and it is also true that Englishmen were inclined to make *cessio* rather too simple a process and to attack it on those grounds. But Oxford had at all events a shrewd sense of the difficulty of securing concerted resignation, and its unwavering determination to secure both unity and reform through a General Council is one of the more striking features in its history. The grounds of this decision were, as the careers of Robert Hallam and Richard Ullerston show us, grounds of principle rather than of tactics.

## II.

From Wylie,<sup>3</sup> Valois,<sup>4</sup> and Junghanns<sup>5</sup> we know something of the fitful attempts made by Henry IV's diplomacy to unify the Church. The correspondence with his ally, Rupert of the Palatinate, who had married his daughter, Blanche, shows the two powers tentatively drawing together and promising to assist one another in restoring unity.<sup>6</sup> On 30 November, 1402, Bishop Edmund Stafford of Exeter was able to tell Parliament somewhat optimistically that the desired consummation was in sight, only to receive the characteristic reply that such efforts were to be welcomed as long as they involved no

sufficit melius ad cedacionem [sedacionem] scismatis. . . . Praticetur ergo via cessionis sic : convenient ambo concertantes in uno loco medio et bene tuto sicuti Janue : et in isto cum suis cardinalibus et ipsis ibidem simul convenientibus revocent (*sic*) quilibet eorum processus quos fecerint unus contra alium et eis adherentibus et absolvant se ad inuicem modo quo fieri potuerit meliori ; et postmodum confirment collationes beneficiorum [et] promotiones hinc et inde factas." For the "loco medio et bene tuto," see William Swan's remarks in Note B, p. 52.

<sup>1</sup> Balliol College MS. 165 B., p. 77 : "Ita tamen quod ubi sunt duo episcopi ad unam ecclesiam, ille remaneat Episcopus qui civitatem possidet, assignata alteri pensione super proventibus episcopatus".

<sup>2</sup> "Practica remedium contra schisma."

<sup>3</sup> *History of England under Henry IV*, iii, chapter lxxxi.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, iii, 478 ; iv, 9.

<sup>5</sup> *Zur Geschichte der Englischen Kirchenpolitik von 1399-1413* (Freiburg i. B., 1915), which should, however, be used with caution.

<sup>6</sup> Junghanns, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-10.

expense.<sup>1</sup> But the government's preoccupation with rebellious movements and the concentration of churchmen upon the pressing problem of Lollardy diverted attention from the main European question till the death of Innocent VII roused Henry IV to instruct Sir John Cheyne and Dr. Henry Chichele, his ambassadors at Rome, to bring influence to bear upon the Cardinals of the Roman obedience not to elect a new pontiff, but to hold their hand and concert measures for terminating the schism.<sup>2</sup> Henry's recommendation expressed in a special letter to the Cardinals,<sup>3</sup> bore little fruit, since it came far too late.<sup>4</sup> But at all events it was sent. There is probably some truth in Junghanns' suggestion that Owen Glendower's understanding with Benedict XIII, involving the revival of the ancient claim to make St. David's a metropolitan Church, the establishment of a Welsh University and the proclamation of Henry IV as a usurper and a heretic, may have aroused the king to the dangers of the situation.<sup>5</sup> Certainly it is not till early in 1407, in the King's letter of 8 January to the College of Cardinals and his instructions (18 January, cited above) to his envoys at Rome, Cheyne and Chichele, that the interesting and important series of diplomatic letters and acts ending in England's support of the Council of Pisa begins to run. We can gather from a letter of Archbishop Arundel, dated 2 Feb., 1407, that Gregory's movements were being very carefully watched by Churchmen in England.<sup>6</sup>

To 1407 belongs the remarkable letter of "Richard, Bishop of

<sup>1</sup> *Rot. Parl.*, iii, 485, 492-493.

<sup>2</sup> 18 January, 1407: MS. Cotton Cleopatra E. II, fol. 249. Valois (iii, 478) corrects the date given in the Cottonian Catalogue (p. 587). Chichele's first commission to Rome was not dated July, 1405, as stated in *Dict. Nat. Biography*, X, 227, but July, 1406 (*Fœdera*, Hague ed., iv, 100). Except for missions to Charles VI and to Gregory XII at Siena, he appears to have remained in Rome, and to have taken the place of the bishop of St. Davids on a second commission (with Cheyne), issued on 26 April, 1407 (*Fœdera*, iv, 113); on April 3, 1408, the mandate for the restitution of his temporalities as bishop of St. Davids speaks of him as having been "in the King's service in the Court of Rome for the space of a year and a half"; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1405-1408, 426.

<sup>3</sup> Cotton Cleopatra E. II, fol. 250 (wrongly dated in the Cottonian Catalogue).

<sup>4</sup> Valois rightly comments on the slowness of the Cardinals to inform Henry of the new election: iii, 478.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, 11-15.

<sup>6</sup> Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, 302-303.

Rochester" to the Roman Curia.<sup>1</sup> This prelate has generally been thought to be Richard Young, who was translated from Bangor to Rochester in 1404, though he did not take formal charge of his diocese till 2 May, 1407.<sup>2</sup> On the strength of the dating, "London, 1407," and the fact that Richard Clifford became Bishop on the 27th of April that year, Junghanns has attributed the letter to Clifford;<sup>3</sup> but he has neglected a passage within the letter narrating the writer's gift to Boniface IX and the Cardinals of "a sext of six folios, containing a series of legal arguments (on behalf of Boniface), *prout in numero hinc concurrebant sub correctione sociorum et maiorum meorum Cardinalium*. This "sext," described as by Richard Ingh (*i.e.* Young), has survived in a Vatican Codex (Lat. 4153, fols. 95-98v.) and contains arguments similar to those in the letter.<sup>4</sup> Moreover there does not seem to be any evidence that Clifford, the great administrative clerk, the former keeper of the privy seal, was ever at Rome in the time of Boniface IX; his English employment kept him too busy.<sup>5</sup> There is, on the other hand, positive testimony to Young's being in the Curia in 1395.<sup>6</sup> He had been an Auditor of the Sacred Palace, which surely explains the *correctio sociorum* of our text; and it is quite clear from his discussion of the part alleged to have been played by *metus* or the influence of fear in the election of Urban VI that the author was a canonist, which we know Young to have been. The interest of the letter, however, lies in its mixture of Conciliar and anti-French tendencies. Young says that he has heard how Gregory XII and Benedict XIII both have resignation in view: God grant that the French do not use the occasion to wrest the Papacy to themselves, as has happened before. If it happens that such resignation is impeded in any way or fails to

<sup>1</sup> Printed in Martène et Durand, *Amplissima Collectio*, vii, 748-750. It was to be found in the Chauvelin MSS. which before the Revolution belonged to Harlay (*cf.* L. Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits*, ii, 103-104); now, it would appear, in Bibl. Nat., MS. Latin 12542.

<sup>2</sup> Wylie, iii, 141. Wylie and Valois both accept Young's authorship.

<sup>3</sup> *Zur Geschichte der Englischen Kirchenpolitik*, pp. 28-29.

<sup>4</sup> I am indebted to Miss Annie Cameron for photographs of this interesting work which I hope to describe later.

<sup>5</sup> On his career, see T. F. Tout, *Chapters in Medieval Administrative History*, iii, 430, 464; iv, 49, 385; v, 53-54.

<sup>6</sup> Wylie, iii, 140. He was there in 1393; *Cal. Papal Letters*, iv, 479.



materialise, Gregory XII should convoke a General Council, since it is his prerogative to do so.<sup>1</sup> This Council both the anti-pope and the King of France are bound to attend. If they do not, they will be guilty of contumacy, and the whole power of the Church will revert to the Council, the contumacious parties being bound to uphold whatever is done there. If the French king absent himself, he should be threatened with deposition and a Crusade should be undertaken against his lands (they shall be open, he says, *spoliis Christi fidelium*): his kingdom should then be assigned to the king of England to fortify his title thereto. Probably neither the French monarch nor his adherents will expect so sharp a stroke (though the Council can do more than this), nor can they defend their obstinacy as the Greeks do, for the Greeks are on the borders of Christendom, whereas the French are in its very heart. It need not be a matter of great difficulty to summon the clergy to such a Council: there were Councils in the past on the matters of heresy, while here it is simply a question of the right of two mortal persons, which certainly can and should be decided, even if the despoiled Pope (*papa spoliatus*) petition to be restored. This "way" is the safest method of ensuring the preservation of the sanctuaries in the City of Rome, which to the laity are a sign of our faith, and also of safeguarding the whole patrimony of St. Peter. The author was evidently drawing upon his own experiences of the disturbed condition of the Roman neighbourhood; one can see that he is a nationalist at heart, a man who would have been acceptable to Henry V, showing no realisation of the deeper issues beneath the contest of two "mortal persons". It is particularly interesting, therefore, to note that Henry IV displayed a somewhat wider vision than this, when once he felt justified in forsaking Gregory.<sup>2</sup>

It is not our purpose to narrate the events of 1408, which led

<sup>1</sup> *Reichstagsakten*, ed. Weizsäcker, vi, no. 202 (Henry IV. to Rupert) shows that Henry took this line: "Sicut a valde peritis audivimus, ad prefatum dominum Gregorium spectat convocare concilium generale".

<sup>2</sup> Which was not to be done without the fullest warning: *Reichstagsakten*, vi, *loc. cit.*: "Videtur nobis (Henry IV) huiusmodi subtraccio a vero papa, saltem ante requisicionem de qua supra fit mencio, reos scismatis arguere subtrahentes". The standpoint of Young is very like that of the Anonymous Clerk who made the curious suggestion for the spiritual outlawry of Charles VI, contained in Harleian MS. 431, fol. 115; on whom, see Valois, iii, 77.



clergy and King to their decision : Gregory's creation (9 May) of new Cardinals, the coming of Richard Dereham, the Cambridge Chancellor, to England (8 July) with messages from the outraged Cardinals at Pisa, the July Synod at Oxford, and the reinforcement of Conciliar policy by the advocacy of the Abbot of Westminster, the bishop of Carlisle and—more important than any—Archbishop Uguccione of Bordeaux.<sup>1</sup> Private information, sent by a man like the notary William Swan, may have had as much effect in determining influential minds on the course of action to be followed as the official appeals of the Pisan party.<sup>2</sup> The point we would emphasise is that once Henry had brought himself to accept the Conciliar solution and had forsaken Gregory XII, he was not content with the formal restoration of unity in the person of Alexander V, but was anxious that the Council should be continued for the purposes of reform. Our evidence for this comes from the remarkable letter-book of John Prophet,<sup>3</sup> Dean of York, at first senior clerk (*secundarius*) in the privy seal office and later, on Richard Clifford's departure, keeper. Since 1389 Prophet, as clerk to the Council, as well as "secondary" in the privy seal office must have had most of the important diplomatic correspondence through his hands. Correspondence with the Curia was regularly

<sup>1</sup> On which, see Wylie, iii, 363-366 ; Junghanns, pp. 31-32. The sermon preached by him before the king early in November, 1408, a summary of which is in the Latin Register of the Metropolitan Church of Bordeaux (Lopès-Callen, *L'église métropolitaine et primatiale Saint André de Bordeaux*, i, 283-285) is given in MS. Bodley, 462, fols. 292 v.—295 v. It is a sober and completely convincing account of the vain attempts made to bring the two pontiffs together, from the election of Gregory XII down to the retreat of the Cardinals to Pisa (November, 1406-May, 1409, called on fol. 292 v. "narracio [nem] gestorum que tangunt materiam unionis") and an argument for setting aside, in the interests of utility, the strict letter of the canon law in the matter of the summons to a General Council, the true course under the circumstances, since the cardinals are bound by their oath to prosecute union "per viam cessionis et per quamcunque aliam viam," and the "via cessionis" is now no longer possible (fols. 293 v.—294). Mr. V. H. Galbraith very kindly showed me his transcript of this and of other entries in the Bodleian MS. containing the original St. Albans Chronicle, of which Walsingham's *Historia Anglicana*, in the section of 1406-1413 that continues the *Annales Henrici Quarti*, is an abbreviation. He hopes shortly to publish the hitherto unprinted passages from the St. Albans archetype.

<sup>2</sup> See note B, *infra*, p. 52.

<sup>3</sup> Harleian MS. 431. On Prophet, see Wylie, ii, 484 n., iii, 295 n., 351 n., and especially Tout, *op. cit.*, v, 52, 97, 102, 106.

conducted under the privy seal, a practice that seems to have become normal during Edward III's reign : and now that such business has disappeared from the dorse of the Close Roll, where we should find it in the thirteenth century, it is to formularies and letter-books that we must resort for missives of importance from this office.<sup>1</sup> Prophet's volume is more of a letter-book, a *copiale*, than a strictly classified formulary containing examples of the various types of letters emanating under the privy seal.<sup>2</sup> He has thought it worth while to insert the Cardinals' statement of their intentions at the election of Innocent VII, together with the notary's certificate,<sup>3</sup> and the important "juramenta et vota cardinalium in ingressu in conclavam ante electionem Gregorii" [XIII].<sup>4</sup> (In the margin he has drawn a pointing hand with the censorious remark "nulla excusatio Gregorii".) He has copied here in full the charges made against Peter de Luna at Pisa with the names of the witnesses in each case,<sup>5</sup> and, at the end, a number of "doubtful points" that might be raised in the anti-pope's favour.<sup>6</sup> Thus he has sketched in the Papal diplomatic background, to enable a reader to understand Henry IV's letters more fully.

Henry, as Wylie pointed out, took a long time in recognising Alexander V ; not in fact till 17 October, 1409, though the news of the election came through in July.<sup>7</sup> Once recognised, he was regarded by Henry as something more than the product and symbol of unity ; as an instrument of reform. The English king's letter written after the return of the greater part of the delegation, is worth quoting in some detail :—

<sup>1</sup> Witness the use made by Wylie of Hocleeve's formulary (Add. MS. 24062) in which also occur a number of the letters given in Prophet's book, under the section "missives," fol. 145 f. This admirable formulary is very systematically constructed, e.g. fol. 95, "As capitans des Chastelx"; fol. 101, "As Seneschalx, Receuers, Fermers et Auditores"; fol. 115, "As diverses estatz en Guyenne"; fol. 121, "Omne gadrum" ("omnium gatherum," a large miscellaneous class of letters). For Hocleeve as a clerk of the privy seal, see Tout, *op. cit.*, v, 75, 106-110; for the privy seal diplomatic, pp. 120 f.

<sup>2</sup> Although at the end (fol. 99) are a great many specimen endings (*conclusiones*) from letters addressed to important personages.

<sup>3</sup> Harleian MS. 431, fols. 49-50 v.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 50 v.

<sup>5</sup> Fol. 73 f.

<sup>6</sup> Fol. 95: "Quia fide attestante minus feriunt iacula que preudentur".

<sup>7</sup> *iii*, 387.

Truly, blessed father, when the Council was over, our ambassadors on returning brought us in their account of its termination such good hope for the future that we overflowed with happiness and jubilation, watered, as it were, with honey-flowing streams. Yet we have heard to our great sorrow that certain Christian Kings and princes of secular importance have refused to acquiesce in its findings, and still adhere to one or the other sides in the ancient dispute, so that unless the Lord of Mercy has compassion on his people, the spark will become a flame not easily extinguished. I beseech you, therefore, to persist with the Council; for if it is continued, we have hope in the Lord that through its meeting the universal good of the Church may be re-established, and certain detestable abuses cease through the worthy reformation of many errors, by God's will. In this event we propose to send ambassadors to give clear answers upon the matters expounded to us discretely and elegantly by the envoys of your holiness, after first taking mature counsel, as right and fitting, with the nobles and estates of our realm in our parliament to be summoned especially on that account; without the calling of which or the assent of the estates aforesaid, since it touches their interest, no statutes or ordinances previously made can be revoked or changed.<sup>1</sup> But if your holiness (as we hope will not be the case) at any one's instigation or suggestion decide to forego this pious and sacred project of celebrating a General Council, then the effect upon the Kings and princes zealous for the Universal Church is specially to be feared, and the great dangers that may arise will be particularly formidable, and every care will be needed lest the author of the schism [the Devil] renew his attack and tear men away from the root of unity in the Church.<sup>2</sup>

What were the matters expounded by Alexander's legates? The mention of Parliament and the revocation of statute and ordinance suggests that it was the old question of Provisors that Alexander had so early in mind. That this was so seems probable from another undated letter, already cited,<sup>3</sup> in Hoccleve's formulary, in which Henry, in replying to Alexander's announcements of his election, stated that he had great confidence in Alexander's not attempting anything against the statutes and ordinances published by the consent of the estates, nor "trying any novelties which will be derogatory to our crown or the *regalia*," and requesting him, if he was meditating anything of the sort, to let the matter rest till the General Council "shortly to be summoned".

<sup>1</sup> Note 2: "habito primitus ut est opus et congruit superinde cum proceribus et statibus regni nostri deliberacione matura, praesertim in parlamento nostro propterea celebrando, sine cuius vocatione et statuum predictorum assensu, cum illorum in premissis interesse versetur, nulla statuta vel ordinaciones in eo parte prius edita reuocari poterunt aut mutari".

<sup>2</sup> Harleian MS., 431, fol. 42.

<sup>3</sup> P. 2, n. 2.

Did not Henry's caution over existing statute—and it is interesting to observe his insistence upon the assent of the estates—when combined with his protestations in favour of reform in reality constitute an illogical attitude? Could desire for reform in the Universal Church harmonise with national-mindedness upon the vitally important matter of the collation of benefices? Dr. Haller's opinion is that England cared more for unity in the head than for amelioration.<sup>1</sup> While one recognises the substantial justice of the remark, it is impossible to overlook the other side. We have clear evidence, a small part of which was discussed above, of the reforming zeal of a number of Oxford Conciliars; we have a letter from Chichele to Robert Hallam at Constance strongly protesting against the exemptions that undermined the authority of prelates;<sup>2</sup> and above all we have the sermons and the leadership of Hallam, head of the English delegation both at Pisa and at Constance, to provide the exceptions. When Hallam's career, especially in the Oxford period, has been more fully studied and brought into relation with the reforming efforts of his time,<sup>3</sup> it will be understood why his death in September, 1417, was nothing short of a tragedy; why, apart from leading to the capitulation of the English delegates to the French and Italian plan of hastening on the election of a new pope and of leaving to him the question of reform, it robbed the whole Conciliar movement of just that element of firmness and moral purpose which it most needed: refusal to be de-

<sup>1</sup> *Papsttum und Kirchenreform*, p. 463: "So geht die englische Kirche hinsichtlich der reformatio in membris ihren eigenen Weg und braucht sich auch um die reformatio in capite, an der sich das Konzil zu Konstanz vergeblich abmüht, und das Konzil von Basel sich erschöpft, nicht weiter zu kümmern".

<sup>2</sup> Royal MS. 10, B. ix, fol. 59: "Assurgite propterea, queso, frater carissime, et manum extensam adhuc extendite, ut non solum uniri, quin potius poterit reformari mater nostra, et ad suum honorem . . . virilius reintegrari. Quod idcirco dixerim propter exemptiones quamplurimas, que importunis instantiis, nedum pecuniis, obtinebantur, ex quibus prelatorum vilipenditur auctoritas, et regularis emarcuit observancia discipline." This matter had come up before the Michaelmas Convocation of 1414, "in quo tractatum est de privilegiis exemptorum per Romanos Pontifices indultorum, quibus gavisus sunt hactenus, annullandis. Hoc initium signorum fecit novus metropolitanus [Chichele] ut manifestaret bilem suam": Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 302.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. F. D. Hodgkiss, a Manchester graduate, is making this the subject of his research.



tered by nationalist passions or irrelevant issues or the weariness that was increasingly prompting the delegations to make a formal election and return to their closes and homes.

There is nothing of the extremist and very little indeed of the academic theorist about the Lancashire man who had left the chancellorship of Oxford to become Arundel's archdeacon before his promotion to Salisbury. He could argue with Hus in his rooms in Gottlieben Castle, he yielded to none in his abhorrence of Lollardy,<sup>1</sup> though, characteristically, he would not have the death penalty inflicted for heresy. We can almost hear him with his compatriots, as Ulrich von Richental depicts them in his chronicle, singing mass so sweetly as to provoke the wonder of the people of Constance. A lover of Dante—Giovanni da Serravalle did a latin translation of the *Commedia* for him while he was at Constance<sup>2</sup>—he had a capacity for poetic diction that reveals itself in his sermons and even in his formal announcements: a capacity transcending the euphuism of a stylistic age, a certain quality of expression by which the man himself shines through the edifice of words. His indulgence for visitors to the shrine of St. Edward at Shaftesbury is a fair example, just as it also portrays his idea of a Christian prince:—

To all sons of Holy Mother Church that see or hear these letters Robert by divine permission humble servant and minister of the Church of Salisbury greeting in Him who from the garden of his Church Militant gathers roses in war, lilies in peace, and sets them before His face to behold. The saints of God, gathered from the earth to be partakers of their Lord's inheritance, who have received from His hand the wreath of Heavenly benediction and are now in the realm of perpetual praise and glory, should be honoured by all nations of the earth with devoted service, extolled with eulogy of song, and venerated with reverent ceremony. . . . Among them the glorious martyr Edward, God's chosen athlete,<sup>3</sup> once the illustrious king of the English, has merited special veneration and peculiar honours at the hands of Englishmen, for that in the choir of the blessed he shines with intenser brilliance than others, and in life as well as in death made the kingdom of England illustrious by his fame. . . . He it is who, of royal birth and lineage, when on his father's throne grew daily to greater splendour through his admirable intelligence, his gift of mercy and his high and gracious humility; for from his earliest manhood, as he trod the path of

<sup>1</sup> Reg. Hallam, part ii, fols. 37, 38, 50 v.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. W. Schirmer, *Der Englische Frühhumanismus* (Leipzig, 1931), pp. 16, 17.

<sup>3</sup> This was the contemporary description of Henry V.



truth and laid low with the sickle of virtue those blandishments whereby human frailty is often deceived, to all men he showed himself gentle, friendly and devotedly kind; by his chastity to be worthy of praise, by the charm of his character a man of distinction, by his mercifulness one of good will, by his compassion one of mercy, nor ever in the rigour of justice hard-hearted. He it is who lifting his heart aloft to God and by his life looking forward to Him (*sua in ipsum vita prospiciens*), never ceased to search for Him and mentally to hold Him fast, wakeful to His commands, a keen worker and a ready. Strenuous and devoted alike in his military prowess and in settling the business of the Church, enemies and men of evil life he treated with a certain asperity, while those of virtuous life, especially if they were in holy orders, he protected from all molestation, as his pious father had instructed him. He it is on whose account there was great happiness in England then, great continuance of peace, great abundance of wealth; who of his bountiful nature made it his daily rite and custom to nourish the needy, to give refreshment to the poor, to clothe the naked, counting as great gain whatever he expended on such works. He it is to whom faith gave moral stability, hope uprightness, love of God and neighbour breadth of soul; to whom prudence lent circumspection, temperance a balanced nature in all things, righteousness an innocence of mind, and bravery initiative and vigour. His life was fragrant with the balm of all the virtues, like a store-chamber filled with all the Lord's spiritual gifts.<sup>1</sup>

In this conventionally idyllic picture of a pre-conquest saint and King, behind formal antithesis and the elegances of the "flowery" style, certain phrases hold the mind; the Gardener gathering the blood-red and white flowers of His Church: *sua in ipsum vita prospiciens*: the store-chamber full of *charismata*. The same is true of the best-known of his sermons, that preached before the Council of Constance upon the second Sunday in Advent, 1415, to which we shall shortly refer; it is true also of other documents preserved in his Register. Perhaps this note of distinction and a certain elevation of mind which it reflects derived from the atmosphere and conversation of the group of men living hard by St. Osmund's cathedral and walking in the Cloister built by Elias de Dereham. Fortunately both the episcopal and the Chapter Registers of Salisbury for this period are preserved. They reveal to us—though naturally the information has to be extracted mainly from the daily routine of administration—a society of considerable learning and eminence, at one in the service of the English saint associated in their minds with the use and form of worship that has made Salisbury the spiritual home of English

<sup>1</sup> Reg. Hallam, Part ii, fol. 56 v.

liturgiology. The Registers of the notaries Viringe and Pountney, which record the acts of the Chapter while John Chaundler, the Wykehamist, was dean, have many points of great interest to all ecclesiastical historians, and are of particular importance in two directions connected with our own inquiry : they throw light on the composition and prestige of the confraternity of Salisbury, and supplement our knowledge of the canonisation of St. Osmund, a process taken up once more by Bishop Hallam in 1412, the main record of which is the parchment *Registrum in causa canonizationis beati viri Osmundi olim Sarisberiensis Episcopi in Anglia*. This is preserved, like the notaries' registers, among the muniments of the Dean and Chapter.<sup>1</sup> The majority of this register was printed by Mr. A. R. Malden in a (now) scarce book, *The Canonisation of St. Osmund*.<sup>2</sup>

If we are to understand something of Hallam's status in influence, the position and policy of his Cathedral Church cannot be left out of account. The Salisbury *confratres* had long been a distinguished body,<sup>3</sup> and in the early fifteenth century the tradition was maintained and, if anything, strengthened. The Prince of Wales and his brother Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, were admitted (Humphrey in person) into the fraternity on 15 September, 1409,<sup>4</sup> and Queen Joan with the ladies and gentlemen of her household a year later.<sup>5</sup> The fact may bear testimony to Hallam's influence at Court ; though whatever part he may have played in the matter, it is more likely to represent a move on the part of the Chapter towards securing powerful support in the future campaign for the canonisation of St. Osmund. In 1409

<sup>1</sup> My grateful thanks are due to Canon Christopher Wordsworth for permission to study, under the pleasantest of conditions, these illuminating registers, and for much kindly and learned help. The volumes have been utilised both by Dr. Wordsworth for his *Salisbury Ceremonies and Processions*, and by the late Mr. W. H. R. Jones for his *Fasti Ecclesiae Sarisberiensis*.

<sup>2</sup> Wilts Record Society (Salisbury, 1901). For a description of the register of St. Osmund's canonisation, see p. vi.

<sup>3</sup> See the series of admissions given in Dr. Wordsworth, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-149. For the method of admission, *cf.* the "Modus recipiendi aliquam honestam vel nobilem personam in fratrem seu sororem Ecclesiae Cathedralis Sarum" in Malden, App. III, p. 243.

<sup>4</sup> Reg. Viringe, fol. xvii. (later pagination, 33).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. xxv (p. 49). Her knights included Hugh Lutterell and William Cheyney.

the Chapter was sufficiently distinguished to attract *nobiles personae*. Among its members, in addition to Chaundler, were Thomas Polton, in the future to be successively bishop of Hereford, Chichester and Worcester ;<sup>1</sup> Simon Sydenham, who was to represent his country at Constance, and later became dean and in 1429 bishop of Chichester ; the precentor and former archdeacon of Ely, Adam Mottram, and Geoffrey Crukadan (both of these acted as Vicars-General for Hallam while at the General Councils) ; Robert Brown, later well known at court, and George Lowthorp, who was to become treasurer for the canonisation, while but lately Henry Chichele, now bishop of St. Davids and evidently in high favour for his diplomatic abilities, had been Chancellor, and Nicholas Bubwith archdeacon of Dorset. In 1416, when the campaign for canonisation was well under way, the most significant figure of all came to take up his residence in a Canon's house hard by his friend's palace—Richard Ullerston,<sup>2</sup> like Hallam, both a Lancashire man and Chancellor of Oxford (1407-8), the author at Hallam's instigation of the "*Petitiones pro Ecclesiae militantis reformatione*"<sup>3</sup> that bear a definite relation to the Oxford

<sup>1</sup> Reg. Viringe, fol. ij v. (p. 4), 9 July, 1408, for his admission to a canonry. It is doubtful whether he resided.

<sup>2</sup> Reg. Pountney, fol. xxij v. (17 Dec., 1416). Ullerston was to have as much as "*aliquis alius canonicus habuit in residencia sua iuxta statuta et consuetudines ecclesie memorate ; pro qua residencia sua soluit ibidem per manus magistri Henrici Harborough precentores summam XLV librarum, que summa fuit deliberata dominis G. Louthorp et W. Workman ad usum opus et utilitatem canonizacionis beati Osmundi receptoribus firme et introituum Canonicorum inibi, faciendo residencias per capitulum specialiter deputatas per septennium duraturas prout patet in actis beati Osmundi (cf. W. H. Frere, *Use of Sarum*, i, 11). Insuper idem Ricardus petiit sibi aliquas domos canonicales ad faciendum residenciam suam et inhabitandum in eisdem sibi assignari. Et quia domus canonicales iuxta palacium Episcopi steterunt vacue que fuit (*sic*) magister Johannis Harlegh in quibus nullus inhabitavit ideo decanus eusdem sibi assignavit, decernens ipsas domos canonicales iuxta portam sancte Anne, in quibus ex gracia capituli ipse alias inhabitavit, fore vacuas. On him, cf. Malden, p. 236, n., *Dict. Nat. Biography* and my note in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, July, 1930, p. 405, n. 1. He was collated to the prebend of Axford on 25 March.*

<sup>3</sup> Printed by von der Hardt, *Magnum oecumenicum Constantiense Concilium*, i, 1126-1170. This important statement of the needs of the Church contains sixteen points to be laid before a General Council. It must have been written later than June, 1407, since the preface is addressed to Hallam as bishop of Salisbury, and on the eve of the Council of Pisa, which he speaks of (p. 1128) as "*praesens Concilium*".

memorandum upon reform (1414) which Wilkins happily printed.<sup>1</sup> It is not difficult to imagine with what pleasure Hallam, far away at Constance, would view his learned friend's accession to the Chapter ; the Dean certainly appreciated it, since he got the newcomer to preach a special sermon seven months before he was formally admitted to his full canonry. Early in May, 1416, a Chapter was summoned to consider ways and means of expediting St. Osmund's canonisation ; for it Ullerston preached on the text *exaltent eum in ecclesia* (Ps. CVI). His manuscript, on paper and in a small and beautiful hand,<sup>2</sup> is inserted in the Pountney Register. Mr. Malden rightly observed that there cannot be many instances of a sermon nearly five hundred years old existing in the original manuscript of the preacher.

The sermon<sup>3</sup> sets forth the merits of St. Osmund and his claim to be canonised. After an exposition of other scriptural passages parallel to the text chosen, Ullerston inserts a special bidding prayer :—

Therefore before we proceed further, let us ask the governor of the universe, the bestower of all grace, *who maketh the desert a standing water and watersprings of a dry ground*, to moisten the desert of our hearts with his heavenly rain, that I may be able to say something which may stir you to bring forth the fruits of a better life, praying moreover, as our custom is, for the estate of the whole orthodox Church, and chiefly for the happy issue of the General Council now in progress, and especially for our lord bishop of this diocese, who has borne more labours and greater for establishing unity in the Church than any other prelate in all the world, as is fully known ; and not only for him, but for our dean and for all members of the confraternity and all ministers of this Church. And on the temporal side, ye shall specially remember in your prayers Sigismund, most Christian King of the Romans, who like another Machabeus is standing zealously for the Church. Ye shall pray moreover for our victorious King of England, Henry V, faithful soldier of Christ and strongest striver after peace, that the Lord may go with him and strengthen him in his pious intentions.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Concilia*, iii. 360-365. Cf. Haller, *Papsttum und Kirchenreform*, pp. 463-464.

<sup>2</sup> It is clear, I think, that Mr. Malden is correct (p. iv) in considering this to be the original draft. The corrections and additions to the text, in the same hand, are not those of a copyist nor of a scribe working to dictation. The insertion of a contemporary paper document in a vellum register is further confirmation.

<sup>3</sup> Printed by Malden, App. II, pp. 236-242.

<sup>4</sup> Malden, p. 238.



The bedes bidden (and in them we can see the interest of the Chapter in Conciliar events as well as the fulfilment of Chichele's mandate), Ullerston developes four reasons why Osmund should be canonised : his foundation of Salisbury ; his munificent endowment of the Church, the sacred ritual he prescribed for it (*sacram eius institucionem*), and his holiness attested by many miracles. Osmund was both the elm and the vine : he made others fruitful and was himself fruitful too. He was set over the Lord's vineyard not only to bear fruit himself, but to sustain the whole vineyard. "Nor is it true to say, as certain madmen in our time do, that doctors of the Church who live upon such endowments (as St. Osmund provided) have sinned by so doing, for the four doctors of the Church drew their sustenance from such. . . . And if that is not enough, hear Christ himself, what he saith : for Christ saith to St. Brigit according to her account in the Sixth Book of Heavenly Revelations made to St. Brigit : 'I' he saith, 'and my friends have endowed my Church that clerks shall pray with the more quiet therein' ".<sup>1</sup> Naturally we shall be most interested in his account of the *sacra institutio*. This is the Use of Sarum, "incomparable in the world, though latest in time of the various observances in the Church". Its lateness should not be thought to detract from its value, since like the philosophy of Aristotle it eliminated earlier error, extracting the marrow of their sum totals (*medullam summarum*).<sup>2</sup> As Aristotle, "so did this keen servant of God : for scrutinising many uses of greater reputation he chose the stronger, the more graceful and the choicer elements in each, arranged them in excellent form and gave them into the keeping of his Church". In such a practice could be found an argument to prove that the rites and observances of the English Church are more perfect than in any other country within the Christian Church ; and Ullerston quotes Gregory's letter to Augustine bidding him collect "ex singulis quibusque ecclesiis que pia, que religiosa, que recta sunt . . . et hec quasi in fasciculum collecta". If the English observance is pre-eminent among them, it follows that our "Use of Sarum is the chief among other Uses in the whole world".<sup>3</sup> Thus is the English rite praised for its eclecticism.

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 239-240.

<sup>2</sup> This does not, I think, refer to *summae* in the technical sense.

<sup>3</sup> Malden, p. 241.



The canonisation of St. Osmund may well have been a move to generalise the Sarum Use in the English Church. The campaign was not immediately successful, and it took the combined efforts of William de Grey, Nicholas de Upton and Simon Houchyns to secure the desired consummation between 1452 and 1456. It should be noted that the aid of the important William de Grey was sought on the strength of his being "frater ecclesiae";<sup>1</sup> this may throw some light on the policy pursued in 1409-10. But the main point which I would especially emphasise here is that in a period to which the virtues of zeal and energy are only grudgingly acceded, we find an important English Chapter being recruited from some of the most progressive minds of the day, keenly interested—the names and careers of its bishop and of Ullerston and Sydenham show it—in the success of the universal Church in council, and pressing forward with influential help the claims of its ritual and the example of its founder upon a Church that needed the reinforcement of such enthusiasm and devotion.

But it is only too easy for sophistication to seek political motives. We may be pretty certain that for Hallam the glory of St. Osmund and of Salisbury would less be the aim of his life than, if it so came about, the happy result of his efforts in an even higher cause. That those efforts were devoted unremittingly to reform both his Register and his sermons make clear. In the former he stands out as a firm disciplinarian. We can see him reproving his own dean for not correcting abuses in one of the prebendal Churches,<sup>2</sup> zealous for the good order and efficiency of his diocese,<sup>3</sup> dutifully recording and

<sup>1</sup> See the English letter from the Dean and Chapter in Malden, pp. 118-119.

<sup>2</sup> Reg. Hallam, Part ii, fol. 8 v.: Monition to Chaundler to remedy the serious abuses in the prebendal Church of Beer, which "sub male recte iurisdictionis umbraculo divinam maiestatem offendunt"; cf. fol. 7 v., where he reproaches the archdeacon of Dorset for an inadequate certificate upon the vacancy of Winterbourne Came.

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. (Part i, fols. 19, 19 v.) the process against the rector of Stalbridge: the "littera ad compellendum presbiterum ad deservendum cure" (Part ii, fol. 4); the commission to the sub-dean of Salisbury warning him and all incumbents and chaplains in the place "contra non observantes dies dominicos et festivos (*ibid.*, fol. 4 v.); the commission to hear and correct defects in the nunnery of St. Mary at Kingston St. Michael's (*ibid.*, fol. 5 v.); the careful way in which he inquires into losses of furniture and ornaments in parish Churches (*ibid.*, fols. 9 v., 12 v.); the letter to Henry IV

quickly acting upon the mandates of his metropolitans<sup>1</sup> or of Papal collectors,<sup>2</sup> and except for his visits to Pisa and Constance resident to an unusual extent within his See. Above all he appears to us as a man filled with a high sense of a prelate's responsibility, and we know that he shared Ullerston's admiration for "Lincolniensis"—Robert Grosseteste. From one sermon especially we receive an unforgettable picture of Hallam's earnest and responsible outlook: the much copied *Et erunt signa in sole*, extracts of which are given by Dr. Finke,<sup>3</sup> and which occurs in a number of manuscripts abroad, has apparently its sole English exemplar in the manuscripts of Jesus College, Oxford.<sup>4</sup> It was preached before the fathers at Constance on 8 Dec., 1415. The sun, he says, has four characteristics or properties which are applicable to the papacy and the episcopate alike—"nobilitas conditionis, sublimitas positionis, utilitas operationis et volubilitas regirationis". The sun, "a marvellous instrument, the work of the most High," turns its whole face in ardour and labour towards God, and so, by imperceptibly generating virtue in things below,<sup>5</sup> changes potentiality into actuality, the hidden into the manifest.<sup>6</sup> In such manner the pope and the bishops are brought forward to the knowledge of all, postulated by the Church, elevated to their dignities and confirmed in their stations. The sublimity of the sun's position should signify the distance of the pope and the bishops from avarice and secular preoccupations, and their power of shining with pure lives and healthy warmth of doctrine from on high. The utility of the sun's working should portray their zeal in reproving sin and heresy, and its constant revolution round the earth (*volubilitas regirationis*), their rise to the splendour

asking him to seize certain excommunicated persons who are contumacious, "secundum regni vestri Anglie consuetudinem in talibus hactenus usitatam (*ibid.*, fol. 9); the letters of warning against bogus collectors for charity (*ibid.*, fol. 15), etc. Any student of episcopal registers will be struck by the number of such documents, and with the personal and unformularised nature of the wording.

<sup>1</sup> E.g. *ibid.*, fol. 25 v. (collection of 4d. in the pound for the Pisan delegates); fol. 53 v. (publishes constitutions of Archbishop Arundel); fols. 37-38 (publishes constitutions of Chichele on heretics and on wills).

<sup>2</sup> E.g. *ibid.*, fol. 14 v. (Marcellus de Stroziiis. m letter dated London, 19 March, 1410).

<sup>3</sup> *Acta Concilii Constanciensis*, ii, 424. He had also preached on 22 Jan. 1415; Finke, ii, 393.

<sup>4</sup> Jesus College, Oxford MS. no. XII, fols. 203-220.

<sup>5</sup> Fol. 205.

of the meridian through justice and charity, and their retreat again (as night comes on) into their own consciences where they keep themselves in all humility.<sup>1</sup> The sun too may suffer eclipse, when the high office in the Church is acquired venally and corruptly. Money gets round all obstacles to promotion. "If you say that the candidate for promotion is of humble birth, Simon (Magus) replies that Peter himself was not a patrician nor of distinguished ancestry, but a fisherman of low degree: if it is objected that he is still a boy, Simon shows that the elders of the people were condemned by Daniel as a child; if he is alleged to be illiterate, Simon answers that we nowhere hear of the apostles attending school; if married, the reply is the apostle (Paul) was married too, and prescribes that the man to be elected bishop shall be the husband of one wife."<sup>2</sup> It was a custom to inveigh against worldliness and self-seeking; most of the preachers at Constance did so, and Hallam is with them in drawing a grisly picture of the retribution that will follow at the end;<sup>3</sup> but more clearly than they he sees how sharp is the moral issue between the old order and the new discipline that is needed. The Church cannot contain both types. In the book of Kings we read, "*The Cloud filled the house of the Lord so that the priests could not stand to minister because of the cloud*". The cloud is not the glory of the Lord, but the thick mist of worldly lusts and imaginations. It is this that leads to the present vilification of Churchmen, to the laughter and scorn of the laity, even at this present Council.<sup>4</sup> At the end, however, after further developments

<sup>1</sup> Fol. 205 v.; "Sol enim oritur quando vita boni pastoris vere lucis operibus populo declaratur: occidit quando se subtrahens principis aspectibus lectioni, meditationi, oracioni et contemplacioni totius mundi incumbit. . . . Sed tamen sol spiritualis ad locum suum revertitur quando ingressus propriam conscientiam flectitur ad aquilonem dum humilitate se custodit". The last phrase is characteristic of Hallam.

<sup>2</sup> Fol. 207 v.

<sup>3</sup> Fol. 208 v.: "in morte apparebunt tibi demones horribiles, expectantes, delaturi tuam animam ad Gehennam. Ubi tunc divitie et delicie?"

<sup>4</sup> Fol. 210 v.: "Pace vestra loquor, sanctissimi patres, si ista solerti studio curassemus [the avoidance of torpor and luxury], non tam horrenda et tam abominabile de ecclesiasticis personis predicaretur in mundo. Taceo quod nec multis est corona patens, nec tonsura conveniens, quia in veste lascivia, insolencia in gestu, turpitudine in verbis . . . loquuntur insaniam. Praeterea in divinis officiis quanta sit negligencia cum sepius a sacra missarum solempnia (*sic*) potius ad ridendum, ludendum et confabulandum quam ad psallendum et orandum congregari videntur. Dicam, dicam boni lugent, mali rident: dicam dolens."

of his metaphor, Hallam is able to look forward to the day when the sun will again break through. "Igne quodam spiritus sancti sese cunctis communicabit per liberalem compassionem, mentes unificabit per actualement dilectionem, ac corda et corpora purificabit per criminalem abstractionem, et tandem per septem dona spiritus sancti, tanquam per septem gradus rectissimos, suis gregibus ducatum praestabit ad eternalem remunerationem. . . ."<sup>1</sup>

These examples of Conciliar zeal and activity on the part of Englishmen, if they are insufficient to disprove Stubbs's implication that the country as a whole was not interested in the movement, at least suggest that something more was done than piously to deplore the schism and to seek formal unity but nothing else. England produced no great conciliar theorist: yet there were some who had the imagination and the intuition<sup>2</sup> to grasp what a Council might do, and to say so a good while before that course became the official French policy. In the earlier stages its advocates might not be able to convince the great men of the University of Paris; yet on its way to Pisa the English delegation received in 1409 from Gerson a handsome welcome that showed that the bygones of the previous century were bygones;<sup>3</sup> for it was the united action of Paris and Oxford that year which in reality made Conciliar action, for a time at any rate, the future road for the Western Church.

<sup>1</sup> Fol. 220: Earlier (fol. 204 v.) he quotes St. Hilary of Poitiers to illustrate the perpetual resilience and recuperative power of the Church: "hoc habet ecclesia proprium quod tunc vincit cum leditur, tunc intelligit cum arguitur, tunc obtinet cum deseritur, et post pauca dominum prosequitur, floret dum contempnitur . . . vincit et tunc stat cum superari videtur".

<sup>2</sup> That Englishmen were not devoid of these qualities appears from a story of Gerson, who remarks that their imaginativeness was once somewhat unfavourably commented on to the Duke of Burgundy by "the Duke of Lencastre" (? John of Gaunt), rather surprisingly to our modern ears: "Habemus in Anglia viros subtiliores in imaginationibus: sed Parisienses veram habent solidam et securam theologiam". *Opera* (ed. Ellis Du Pin, 1706), ii, 149.

<sup>3</sup> In his "Propositio facta coram Anglicis," Gerson, *Opera*, ii, 123-130; cf. especially p. 127: "Et hec non est parva congratulationis materia, quod in unam conventum est sententiam per duas Universitates toto orbe celeberrimas".



## NOTE A.

Archbishop Chichele orders processions and litanies for the success of Sigismund, king of the Romans, in promoting peace and unity during the Council of Constance. The bishop of London sends out to diocesans (23 June, 1415) the archbishop's mandate, dated Maidstone, 7 June. The present letter is addressed to the Keeper of Spiritualities in the diocese of Chichester, *sede vacante*.

Mandatum pro processionibus fiendis pro felici successu Sigismundi Regis Romanorum. Ricardus permissione diuina Londoniensis episcopus venerabili viro custodi spiritualitatis episcopatus Ciestrensis sede ibidem vacante salutem in omnium saluatore. Litteras reuerendissimi in Christo patris et domini domini Henrici dei gracia Cantuariensis archiepiscopi tocius Anglie primatis et sedis apostolice legati, XV<sup>o</sup> die presentis mensis Junii reuerenter recepimus in hec verba. Henricus *etc.* venerabili fratri nostro domino Ricardo dei gracia Londoniensi episcopo salutem et fraternam in domino caritatem. Terribilis in concilio super filios hominum dominus, cuius iudicia incomprehensibilia sunt et inuestigabiles vie eius, dum inter nos et ipsum peccata nostra diuidunt, ad iram quandoque prouocatus bella lites scismata et varia persecucionum genera in genus humanum pluries incidere permittit, quibus nonnunquam ab electis suis iniquitatum maculas temporali studet afflictione detergere quas in eis imperpetuum minime vult videre. Hec autem iam totam fere per orbem plebs Christi calamitose deflere compellitur et presertim dum Petri nauicula tempestate malorum et persecucionum huiusmodi ingruentium iminenti periculoso naufragio extra spem quietis a diu se posita conturbatur. Pro cuius tranquillitate et pace ad ipsius sponsum et pastorem humiliter exorandum qui quos diligit arguit et castigat, qui etiam vulnerat et medetur, tanto promptius assurgere debemus quanto per oraciones fidelium scriptura testante cognouimus quod ad se reuertencium preces misericordiam in ira non continet set cum iuste iratus fuerit misericordie recordatur. Hinc est, trater carissime, quod fraternitati vestre pro processionibus et letaniis singulis quartis et sextis feriis pro unitate ecclesie, prosperitate regis et regni, aerisque serenitate per vestras ciuitatem et diocesem et ubique per nostram prouinciam Cantuariensem fiendis nostras litteras certi tenoris nuper meminimus transmisisse. Verum quia dignum et omni humanitate congruum est ut pro eo qui ad redintegrationem ecclesie pacemque et tranquillitatem eiusdem propriis omissis negociis viribus cunctis et totis conatibus laborat speciales ad dominum preces a Christi fidelibus effundantur, nos igitur facta et gesta Christianissimi principis Sigismundi Romanorum regis in sacro Constanciensi generali concilio moderno pro pace et unitate ecclesie uniuersalis habita et toti Christianissimo diuulgata nostris precordiis imprimentes; considerantes quod idem princeps serenissimus ad honorem dei et dicte sancte matris ecclesie stabilitatem et unionem perfectam in ciuitate Constancie predicta et partibus adiacentibus cum innumera multitudine gentium tanto principatui condigna et decenti hactenus resedit et non sine grauibz et secundum estimationem humanam importabilibus sumptibus et expensis ibidem iam tempore diutino personaliter expectauit expectat et residet in praesenti; qui etiam velut miles victoriosissimus natale



solum deserens et sancte matris ecclesie rem publicam rebus causis seu negociis quibuslibet anteponeus, eo non obstante quod terras proprias in sua absentia paganorum ac crucis Christi inimicorum insultibus non absque quorundam qui Christiana religione censentur ut verisimiliter coniecturatur operatione et conuincencia scit inuadi, suscepti tamen tam salutaris onus propositi non deserit sed indies ad finem optatum perducere sine defeccione laborat; ipsum regem et principem tam inclitum vestris ac aliorum nostre Cantuariensis prouincie fidelium et deo deuorum precibus in tam sancto ac tam salubri proposito adiuuari propensius affectamus. Vestre fraternitate eciam ad metuendissimi principis et domini nostri regis exhortacionem tenore presencium mandantes quatinus singulis coepiscopis et confratribus suffraganeis nostris per litteras vestras cum omni celeritate possibili cum tenore presencium intimetis quod et ipsi in processionibus et letaniis suis ac per suas ciuitates et dioceses ut alias mandauimus fiendis prefatum principem et regem Romanorum suis et populi sibi subiecti precibus specialiter faciant aggregari, a processionibus et letaniis huiusmodi non cessantes donec negocium pacis et unitatis ecclesie iam speratum finem cunctis Christicolis optabilem annuente Altissimo valeat adipisci. Vosque, frater carissime, predicta omnia et singula in vestris ciuitate et diocesi faciatis execucioni debite absque more dispendio demandari. Et ut mentes fidelium ad deuocius orandum pro premissis propensius excitemus, de dei omnipotentis immensa misericordia et beatissime Marie virginis matris eiusdem ac beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum eius necnon sanctorum Alphegi et Thome martirum patronorum nostrorum omniumque sanctorum meritis et precibus confidentes cunctis Christicolis per nostras ciuitatem et diocesem et prouinciam Cantuariensem ubilibet constitutis de peccatis suis vere penitentibus contritis et confessis, qui processionibus et letaniis huiusmodi interfuerint, quadraginta dies indulgencie tociens quociens concedimus per presentes. Consimiles vero indulgencias per vos, frater carissime, ac ceteros coepiscopos et suffraganeos nostros hortamur in domino et petimus elargiri. Datum in manerio nostro de Maydestone, vijo die mensis Junii, anno domini millesimo CCCC<sup>mo</sup> XV<sup>o</sup>, et nostre translacionis anno secundo. Quarum auctoritate litterarum vobis tenore presencium intimamus quod in processionibus et letaniis per ciuitatem et diocesem Cicestrensem ut aliis mandatum fuit fiendis prefatum regem et principem Romanorum vestris et populi vobis subiecti precibus specialiter faciatis aggregari, a processionibus et letaniis huiusmodi non cessantes nec cessari sinentes donec negocium pacis et unitatis ecclesie iam speratum finem cunctis Christicolis acceptabilem annuente altissimo valeat adipisci, indulgenciam insuper in hac parte petitam concedi procurantes. Datum sub sigillo nostro in manerio nostro de Fulham vicesimotercio die dicti mensis Junii anno domini supradicto, et nostre translacionis anno octavo.

(Reg. Chichele, ii, fols. 189, 189 v. ; copy in fol. 215 v. ; and second copy in fols. 301 v. and 302, but dated "in our palace of Canterbury".)

## NOTE B.

William Swan, notary at the papal curia, writes from Siena on 12 December, 1407, to his friend John Launce, Canon of Chichester, asking him for help in recovering his debts, since being in distant parts he is unable to realise the considerable sums owing to him: he then gives the following account of the tergiversations of Gregory XII:

Et reverende domine in ecclesia dei unio que fiet a pluribus ignoratur. Ambassiatores mittuntur hincinde nullum reportantes fructum, cum dominus noster videatur potius declinare a tam sancto bono quam ad id captandum aliquid accelerare, et hoc propter nepotes et carnales suos. Reuera alter dominus Auinionensis diligenter instat benigne inuitans dominum nostrum per suos solemnes oratores ad pacem et unionem de quibus tamen idem dominus noster modicum curare probatur, et de non accedendo ad Saonam<sup>1</sup> publice et expresse sepius protestatur, et reuocat in dubium si sibi cedere liceat. Tres modos sine vias ad unionem perficiendam iam nouiter adinuenit, quorum primus est ut alter Auinionensis debeat venire ad unum locum infra obedienciam domini nostri in quo idem dominus noster ipsum Auinionensem dominum constituere possit et sibi plenum dominium dare, et secundum exigenciam illius modi obtulit sibi quamplures ciuitates et terras patrimonii. Secundus modus est ut ambo conuenire deberent in uno loco ubi neuter ipsorum est dominus, habitis primitus securitatibus et aliis necessariis, et secundum exigenciam istius modi obtulit Ciuitates Veneciarum, Florentinam, Senensem et alias plures infra obedienciam suam. Tercius modus est ut quilibet ipsorum sit in loco sue obediencie subiecto, dummodo predicta duo loca in quibus stare deberent adeo propinqua forent quod sine aliquali difficultate in uno loco intermedio pro unione tractanda possent omni tempore quod placeret comode conuenire, et secundum exigenciam huiusmodi modi nominauit pro parte sua: Ciuitatem Pisanam Lucanam et Petram Sanctam<sup>2</sup> que sunt in et de obediencia sua, et pro parte alterius domini videlicet Auinionensis Portum Veneris<sup>3</sup> et Sarasanam<sup>4</sup> que sunt de obediencia eiusdem domini Auinionensis quia de dominio et districter Ianuensi. Et quamquam oblata secundum exigenciam huiusmodi tercii modi siue vie per oratores domini nostri alter dominus Auinionensis acceptasset et de veniendo ad Portum Veneris et Sarasanam se obligare obtulisset, dummodo dominus noster consimiliter se obligatione astringere vulerit de veniendo ad Petram Sanctam, velut sui oratores promiserunt, nichilominus dictus dominus noster premissa intelligens scilicet quod alter venire voluit, incontinenter incepit declinare ac tot et tantas adinuenit excusationes et difficultates facit, quod quoquo modo exprimere eas non sufficio. Confidit omnino in turribus et castris, et nisi quatenus Rockam siue Arcem de Petra Sancta ad suas possit habere manus, sciens alium velle venire, illuc accedere contradicit; et licet dominus Lucanus cuius est huiusmodi Rocka siue Turris paratus sit ad manus Collegii eam deliberare, hoc sibi sufficere nequit, unde apparet quod diffidit de collegio cardinalium suorum. Spes vero sua requiescit in Paulo et aliis nepotibus suis quos satis exaltat. Utinam teneret medium in quo non esset vicium. Et

<sup>1</sup> Savona.<sup>2</sup> Pietrasanta.<sup>3</sup> Porto Venere.<sup>4</sup> Sarzana.

iam tarde contulit Episcopo Bononiensi nepoti et Camerario suo Archidiaconatum Lincolnensem et domino Gabrieli ecclesiam parochialem de Northflete, quod minus mihi displicet quam si fuisset incorporata loco de quo alias mihi dixisti. Ad nulla alia respicit neque conuertit aciem mentis sue preterquam ad magnificandum suos carnales, non attendens ad illud quod scribitur in psalmista: *Si mei non fuerint dominati, tunc immaculatus ero* etc.<sup>1</sup> Vere adhuc non nouit locum in quo desideat cum alio conuenire ut tollatur scisma et unionis sequatur integritas, nisi quatenus fieri possit ipso remanente papa. Ad ciuitatem Lucanam eum accedere forsitan oportebit nisi cum maxima eius verecundia eam recusauit. In presenti tamen residet Senis.<sup>2</sup> . . .

(Bodleian Lib., MS. Arch. Seld. B. 23, fol. 48.)

<sup>1</sup> Ps. xix. 14.

<sup>2</sup> I have to thank Miss Dorothy Wolff for pointing out this passage to me. In the following letter 7 Jan., 1408 (fol. 48 v.) to his friend, Robert Newton, he writes of Gregory XII: "super facto unionis est negligens valde et nimis remissus, et ut videtur ad tam magnum et laudabile factum proficiendum in nullo dispositus," although he has been approached by the French and of late by the Venetians, who conducted themselves excellently: "ipsi vero tetigerunt pulsum suum exprimendo scandala, opprobria et obloquia de suo peruerso proposito per uniuersum orbem predicata. Sed quid? Indies tendimus ad occasum et amodo non est spes in Israel. In veritate timeo ne videre unionem tempore suo." The Bishop of Bologna (above) is Antonio Correr. Through him and Paul, Gregory's *domicellus*, "omnia facta sunt et sine ipsis factum est nihil," he says in a later letter (*ibid.*). A very complete contemporary account of their negotiations is given in Archbishop Uguccone's speech before Henry IV (*cf.* p. 29) which will be published in Mr. Galbraith's edition of the sections of MS. Bodley 462, complementary to the printed text of Walsingham.

## SOME ASPECTS OF THE BLACK AND WHITE PROBLEM IN KENYA.

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THE aspect of the Kenya problem which I wish to speak about this evening, is that which deals with the methods by which the best interest of both the European and African communities may be served without unfairness to either side, and without the friction and distrust which at present characterises the situation.

Very unfortunately, indeed, there has developed in recent times the tendency for people both in Kenya and in this country to be either "pro-native" or "pro-settler," which all too often means that the people concerned have made up their minds beforehand that one or other side is wholly in the right, and are unwilling to give any consideration to the arguments of those who are merely "pro-justice," irrespective of the skin colour of the people concerned.

In order that you may appreciate the problems I am going to set before you, as well as better understand the implications of the solutions which I shall suggest to you, it is necessary that I should spend a short time outlining to you the changes in local conditions which have come about in Kenya in the last thirty years.

Let us first look at the changes that have taken place, and are still taking place with increasing speed, over the life of the natives.

Thirty years ago most of the tribes were wholly composed of savage natives, clothed in the skins of animals,—wild or domesticated as the case might be,—or sometimes not clothed at all; nourished entirely by the food which they themselves grew in their gardens, or by the products of the herds which they tended, and in the case of hunting tribes the wild animals they slew; housed in the window-less, smoky, rat-ridden, unhygienic huts of their time, with very little furniture and no comforts; unable to read or write, unable to speak anv

language but their own, and regarding all white men with fear and suspicion.

To-day those same tribes still contain a large proportion of natives whose conditions are not, to the superficial onlooker, so very different from those I have just outlined. That is to say, there is still in each tribe a large proportion—larger in some tribes than in others, of course—who cannot read or write, who live in dark vermin-ridden houses, who are dressed in animal skins or not at all, and who feed principally on what they grow for themselves. But even over this section of the community a change has come. All of them have seen the white man and take part in discussions about him and his way of living and his attitude to themselves. All of them know that they have to pay a tax to the Government. All of them know that every adult male native must be registered under the native registration ordinance or incur a fine. Most of them have friends and relations who have attended a school of one sort or another. All of them make use of the facilities of trade to buy and use articles and foods other than those they can make for themselves, in fact all of them are contributing in some measure to the trade of the country.

Besides these there is in almost every tribe, but more especially in such tribes as the Kikuyu and Kavirondo, an ever-growing number of natives who live in hygienic, pest-free houses, with windows and decent sanitary arrangements, who dress in normal European clothing, much as the Europeans in the Colony; whose food is partly grown by themselves, but also includes sugar, tea, coffee, bread, and other European commodities; who can read and write their own language and also very often Kiswahili and to some extent English; and whose children start attending school from the ages of six or seven. As these people grow more civilised they study the methods, manners, statements, and political activities of the European settlers with greater keenness and vision than they are usually credited with, and as a result are less and less satisfied with the conditions in the Colony.

Between these two groups to-day there are, of course, very many natives in varying stages of transitional development.

And what of the future—shall we say in thirty year's time?

Simply because Kenya is a Colony with a widely distributed settled white population, and is therefore unlike West Africa or even Uganda and Tanganyika,—I believe that the progress and change



which will have taken place in the next thirty years on the part of the natives, will be even more remarkable than elsewhere.

The older generation, who are living much as they did thirty years ago, will have died out. The sons and daughters of the progressive natives of to-day, some of whom already at the ages of ten and twelve read and write English, and who are receiving intelligent education, will have grown into the leaders of the Africans, and almost every native will be able to read and write at least his own language, and a growing percentage will be able to read and understand English, even if they cannot speak it,—provided of course that education facilities are continually improved and increased to meet the demand.

Now for a few minutes let us look at the changes that have taken place and are taking place over the settler communities. From a handful of pioneers living in houses with mud walls and thatched roofs, or in bungalows of wood and corrugated iron, concentrating upon the development of their farms, or their trade, the white non-official community has grown into a body of people living a life which in many ways is not very different from that of this country. They have their farms, on many of which they have built beautiful stone dwellings, situated in magnificent gardens; they intend, many of them, to make the country their permanent home; they have their clubs, and their race meetings, their golfing championships, and their political associations, and they are demanding more and more say in the Government of the Colony. There have also developed big commercial communities in the township, with Chambers of Commerce, Mayors and Town Councils, and all the other similar developments which are in adjunct with town life.

The further great change is that nowadays, instead of sending away their children to school to England or to South Africa as a matter of course, they are demanding local education facilities, with the result that both private- and Government-run schools are everywhere being developed to meet the demand.

The great changes of the past thirty years in the European communities have not so much been due to the change and growth of those who were there thirty years ago, as to the influx of others from overseas, and the general development of transport and other facilities by the Government.

And what of the unofficial European thirty years hence? I doubt

very much if the changes which will have taken place in their life will be in any way comparable with those which will have come over the natives in the same period. Changes and developments there certainly will have been, either in the direction of closer settlement and small holdings, or more likely in the direction of big company-owned estates. But the changes will not be so significant, I think, as those that will have come over the native peoples.

But I must pass on to the more important part of my lecture, namely the causes of the friction and misunderstandings between the two groups, and the possible remedies which might be applied. If one speaks to-day of the injustices done to the natives of Kenya by the white communities, there is a great danger of being misunderstood.

Isolated cases of gross and *deliberate* injustices to the natives by Europeans, and to Europeans by natives, there have been in the past, and are always liable to occur, but I am not concerned with them to-night. They have not been confined to any one section of the community, nor are similar happenings confined to Kenya.

The vast majority of Europeans in Kenya, Government officials, missionaries and settlers are honestly endeavouring to be fair and just to the natives, and they deserve every possible praise for their good intentions, and I feel sure they will not resent it if I, who in many ways am more African than English, attempt to point out to them how they are failing in their endeavours and how they may improve matters. I say without hesitation that at present practically every European in Kenya is regarded by the natives as unjust and unfair in some way or other, even though they may be doing their utmost to be fair and just.

This state of affairs is due to several factors, all of which may be summed up in the word,

“ Misunderstanding.”

Let me point out to you some of the chief sources of misunderstanding. For years the awful fallacy has been allowed to live, that Kiswahili is understood all over East Africa, and it is responsible for a very large percentage of the troubles. Kiswahili is the language of the coastal regions of East Africa, a language derived from many sources, comprising, among others, Arab, Persian, and Portuguese, fitted into a background composed of a heterogeneous complex of inland Bantu dialects. In its coastal form it is a comparatively rich language, adapted to local needs, local conditions and local traditions, and local coastal

native and Arab law and custom. Because most of the inland trade came by way of the coast, first in the hands of Arabs and later with the Europeans, Kiswahili became the language of trade and of the trade routes, but the further it went from its coastal home the more bastardised and tense-less it became.

That a bastard form of Trade-Kiswahili will carry the white man anywhere in East Africa is of course true, but the important thing to bear in mind is that in its trade form, or as it is commonly called these days, "Ki-settler" form, it is useless for anything more than the most commonplace commands and demands which may be necessary between two people who do not know each other's language.

Next, it is of the utmost importance to remember that even good grammatical coast Kiswahili such as some settlers and all administration officers learn is really of only a very limited use away from the coastal areas. This is because of two things.

In the first place, although there are perhaps more up-country natives who know good Kiswahili than there are Europeans up to the same standard, their number is but a minute portion of the three million odd natives of the Colony, and all but these few natives who do know it properly will be unable to understand the real meaning of what is said to them in it, even though they may in politeness, or to avoid trouble, say, "Ndio, Ndio" (yes, yes), to anything said to them in it, or to the query "do you understand"?

Secondly, and even more important perhaps, because it is even less realised, is the fact that even good coastal Kiswahili properly spoken is incapable of translating many of the intricate and specialised words relating to native law and custom in up-country tribes.

Despite these facts, partly because they are not widely known, and partly because even when informed of them many refuse to believe them, the official language of the Colony for dealing with the natives of all tribes is Kiswahili.

All administration officers must pass a series of examinations in Kiswahili, and it is their official language for administration of justice. Few of them are born linguists (very few English people of any class are, I fear) and they have much other routine work to deal with besides learning Kiswahili for their examinations, so that the chances of their ever having time to start learning another native language or ever mastering one more than superficially, are very, very small.

Thus, armed with a language which the majority of the people for whom they have to administer justice do not really understand (unless they are in a coastal district of course), a language, moreover, which is incapable of really translating intricate details of native law and customs, their efforts to be just and fair more often than not fall very short, because even where they have used an interpreter or assessors these people have had to communicate with the officer in Kiswahili. Nor do the settlers come off any better, but rather in many cases worse. I have known many cases of settlers who were honestly fond of their natives, kind to them, and desirous of helping them in every way, yet who acted most unjustly through the use of this appalling Kiswahili.

By far the majority of settlers are content to learn only the up-country "Ki-settler" Swahili, which serves very well indeed for all the ordinary work and ordinary communications between themselves and their native employees on their farms. But every now and then circumstances arise where something more complicated has to be explained by the settler to his employees, or by his employees to the settler, and then the trouble begins.

Mustering all the Kiswahili words he can, and with the aid of an English-Swahili vocabulary and phrase-book, the settler tries to make them understand. They understand as best they can, and act upon what they think they have understood, only to find themselves being soundly cursed or punished, which is their first intimation that they had not in fact understood. I have not time to dwell upon the injustices resulting from this sort of thing. It will be sufficient if I ask you when you get home to use your imagination, and think out the kind of troubles that would arise between you and your employees, how unjust they would consider you to be, day after day, and how foolish and untruthful you would probably consider them, if, shall we say, they were all Armenians and you tried to deal with them, and they with you, in German of which neither you nor they knew more than a limited number of words, and when both of you were relying chiefly upon the infinitive tense as substitutes for every other tense.

Before I discuss the more practical remedies for this source of misunderstanding and injustice, I want to deal with the sources of similar evils. It is one of the first principles of British justice that in dealing with the administration of non-European races we endeavour



to administer justice according to native law and custom in so far as it does not conflict with the laws and ordinances of the country. It is obvious, therefore, that from the point of view of administering justice it is essential that all the intricacies of native law and custom should be studied and known.

It should, I think, also be obvious to any thinking person that, quite apart from the question of administration and justice, it is economically unsound not to have a proper understanding of the customs and habits of a people with whom one is in direct contact in all business.

Now in Kenya the Government departments spend thousands of pounds upon such things as locusts, mealy-bug, ticks, etc., and also upon the habits of certain lady-birds and other insects which can be used to control some of these pests.

Even the Coffee-farmers Association, realising the value of research, is, I believe, seeking to organise further the study of insects and diseases affecting coffee.

Now the money is not spent on these investigations simply for the sake of scientific interest, but because a knowledge of the habits of the insects which are to be controlled, or to be developed—as in the case of certain lady-birds—is essential to the welfare of the country, and therefore the work is placed in the hands of experts. The very important study, however, of the laws and customs of the natives of the country, and more especially of the effects of contact with European civilisation upon the social and economic development of the natives, although it is of double importance because it is not only essential to the administration of justice but also to the whole economic life of the Colony—is not put into the hands of experts but is left to be carried out in such spare time as a few anthropologically-minded missionaries and government officials and others may have.

That is to say, it is left in the category of hobbies. A few of those who make this study their hobby in Kenya have had some training, most of them have not, but none of them have time for the detailed co-ordinated work that is necessary. Is it fair, is it just, is it economically sound, to develop Kenya as it is being developed, to spend the money in it that is being spent upon all the other branches of research, when there is no organised study of the natives, their laws and customs and of their reaction to white civilisation?

Had the laws and customs of the natives been properly studied



long ago by people who really knew and understood the natives, all sorts of friction, misunderstanding and injustices could have been avoided. I am well aware that many who hear me, or who read this statement, will reply that the laws and customs have been studied, and that the case-files at the various Government stations in the country are full of valuable information about native law and custom, which is always available and is much made use of by administrative officers. My reply is that much of the information contained in these case-files consists either of half-truths or of completely misleading statements, entered in good faith as facts, and perhaps better than nothing, but wholly inadequate.

Unfortunately, in this country and in Kenya, people are inclined to think of anthropology as the study of natives' ways and natives' customs and the measuring of their heads, and investigating the term by which a man's brother's wife's sister—for example—calls his daughters' husbands cousin, simply for the sake of having that information.

There is of course a purely scientific side to anthropology just as there is a purely scientific side to the study of butterflies or beetles, but what I am urging is the need for organised *applied anthropology*, and its practical application to the problems of black and white contact in Kenya of to-day.

I do not mean that a few men with anthropological training should be sent out for a few years to work through interpreters and make a report. That would be of little value; but rather that a body of men who not only have anthropological training but also either know or are prepared to learn, and are capable of learning, a native language really well, should be installed to make a detailed study of various important native groups. If they worked through the natives' own languages without interpreters and really got to know their people they would unquestionably be able to produce invaluable information, not only of scientific value, but also of definite value in improving the relations of the black and white races and helping the administration of justice and prevention of unintentional injustices.

A third very fruitful source of friction between the European communities in Kenya and the natives is the resentment sometimes shown by the former, (1) of the natives' desire for better education facilities, and (2) of the way in which they criticise the Government

and also the actions and statements of the unofficial representatives of the Europeans in the Legislative Council.

I think that the majority of the Europeans in Kenya to-day are in favour of the development of native education, but they wish it to be carried out slowly and gradually, which is wise, but also in certain restricted ways, which is not so wise.

What they tend to overlook is that they themselves and their manner of living, their attitude to government, and everything else, are in many ways a far bigger factor in the education of the natives than anything taught in schools, whether they would wish it so or not.

Imitation, both conscious and unconscious, is bound to exist the moment you have a race with a higher form of civilisation alongside of one less developed. Very many settlers who are in favour of some education for the native are strongly opposed to his being taught English, and I think the same may be said of most Government officials, and I also believe that both the settlers and the Government officials really mean it when they say they have the best interests of the natives at heart.

Personally I am convinced that in the interests of justice it is every whit as important to encourage and organise the teaching of good English to the natives as it is to insist that Government officials instead of learning Kiswahili should learn one of the native languages from the outset. My chief reason is this. The laws and ordinances of the Colony, even those which intimately affect the natives, such as native registration ordinance, the Squatters' ordinance, and the natives' Land Trust Bill, are naturally written and issued in English.

The debates which take place in Legislative and Executive Councils upon matters dealing with native affairs also naturally take place in English and are reported in English.

It is only just and fair that the educated natives should know what is said and what the laws and ordinances mean, and if they did so there would be far less distrust of the white man.

Another reason is that the very fact of the contact of a settled white community with the native population is going to result in many of them learning English of a sort, whether they are taught it or not, and to me it seems infinitely preferable that they should learn good English properly taught, than that we should discover in Kenya one day that there had developed among the natives either the awful

“pigeon English” of the west coast or a form of the “Babu” English of the Indian in East Africa, which is the result, I believe, of English taught to Indians by other Indians.

At an earlier stage in the lecture I suggested to you that so long as Kiswahili was the official language of the country, real justice in Kenya for the natives would be difficult. I would like to indicate to you how this state of affairs could, I think, be remedied.

At the present moment it is a very rare thing indeed for a junior administrative officer, after he has been home on leave, to go back to a station where the same language is spoken as that which was spoken at the station where he was before his leave. Officers are moved about from province to province and tribe to tribe for various reasons, the chief of which are probably :—

1. That since Kiswahili is the official language anyhow, and can be used on any station in any province because there are interpreters, it does not really matter if they are moved about.

2. That some of the stations in the country are definitely more unhealthy than others and it is felt that by continually changing about, each officer gets his fair share of good and bad stations.

3. That the whole question of “leaves” makes continual shifting necessary.

As a further argument in the favour of the use of Kiswahili as an official language, it is urged that since there are so many different native languages in the country it would be quite unpracticable to keep an officer for the whole of his service in the area where a single language is spoken.

My reply to all of these arguments is this. There are to my mind five principal language groups in Kenya. An officer who had once learnt one of the languages in one of these groups properly, would be able to learn any of the other languages of the same group very easily in a few months, so that an officer once stationed to a given language group and having learnt one of the languages of that group could be moved as necessity required to any of the stations in the area comprising that language group without causing undue hardship to him, or necessitating his learning an entirely new language, and at the same time he would thus be far more able to administer justice properly than is at present possible. I said at the outset of this lecture that misunderstandings of various kinds were the source of

nearly all the problems in Kenya, and I have already shown you how various misunderstandings arise. I want, in conclusion, to discuss a further aspect of misunderstandings.

In recent years very many families of natives have gone out from their Reserves and become "Squatters" upon European farms in districts such as Naivasha, Nakuru, Gilgil, Njoro, etc. This migration from the Reserves has at times caused the local Government not a little surprise and it has misled the European settlers into believing that the natives prefer the life as Squatters to life in the Reserves. This is so utterly untrue, and shows such tremendous misunderstanding of the whole position both by the settlers and many of the officials, that I ask your patience while I try to explain the true position. First of all let me quote you two extracts from a letter written recently by an East African settler and published in the journal, *East Africa*, on April 23rd, 1931, in order to show you that what I say of the settler and Government attitude is not merely my view of their attitude.

"Now Canon Leakey must know of the thousands of Kikuyu who have of their own accord left the Reserves for good and have gone on to European farms with their wives, cattle, sheep, and all their little household goods. In Naivasha, Nakuru, Gilgil, Lumbwa, and Nandi, they have settled in their thousands. I have them on my farm on the Aberdare mountains 9500 feet above sea level, where it is bitter cold ; they have made their home there, have established their own native councils, their dances, and all their religious ceremonies and will never go back to the Reserves. I have ten families settled on my farm in Kikuyu for the last four years, and they will remain there for all time ; I could have had fifty more if I had wanted them. Why have they left the Reserves and settled on my farm ? Their answer is always that they got a square deal and were not harassed and bled as they would be in the Reserve by the Kiana (Native Council)." . . . And "this exodus from the Reserves has for many years caused the Government a certain amount of anxiety and they have tried to stop it, with no results."

Who are the natives who are leaving the Reserves and going out as "Squatters," and why do they go ? The answer is that—except for a very few—they are natives who were rendered land-less by the ignorance of those who had the control of the alienation of land to Europeans for farms.



These people seriously but quite erroneously imagined that in native occupied areas all land was communal, and so they took over large areas for European farms and told the natives they could move into the other parts of the native area. What they did not realise was that these natives who were being moved were landowners in the area where they were found, and that when they moved they could only go on to the other native land as tenants-at-will, by the kindness of the landowners there.

At the time this was possible because the land was not carrying anything like its maximum population and the landowners were quite willing to take in tenants-at-will. It was, however, made quite clear to them by native law, that they could only stay for so long a time as there was ample room both for them and their children, as well as for the descendants of the real landowners.

In recent years the population density started to reach a point where there was real congestion and the land was insufficient, so the tenants-at-will received notice to quit, and it is, I think, very significant, that in the area from which nearly all the thousands of Squatters have been drawn, the population density after they had gone was still about 500 to the square mile in some 63 square miles, according to the latest figures.

"Why," says the writer of the letter just quoted, "have they left the Reserve and come and settled on my farm?" And he states that the answer which they gave him was that they got a square deal and were not so harassed as in the Reserve. The harassing which they refer to is the eviction of themselves who were merely tenants-at-will by the real owners because of the congestion which made life impossible economically.

Well, say many settlers, when their Squatters come to them and ask for a rise in wages or some other concession, "if you are not satisfied with my conditions you can go back to your Reserve."

What they do not realise is that this is just exactly what they cannot do.

To-day in that part of the Reserve from which the Squatters came the native not only needs land to grow his food, and extra crops to pay his taxes, but also land to grow trees for fuel, land to grow grass for thatching, and land upon which to graze his flocks, and the figure of 500 to the square mile is even now making this impossible.



Of course the settlers and officials who do not understand native law and custom and religion at all, say glibly, "Ah yes, but he need not go back to that part of the Reserve from which he came. He can go off to some of the less-congested areas and live and settle on them." What they do not know is that every piece of land in what is now the Kikuyu Reserve is owned, and that to go and settle in these relatively thinly populated areas, they would have to get permission from the landowning families, and would even then only become tenants-at-will. Moreover, the land-owning families are not prepared nowadays to take on countless tenants-at-will, for they prefer to keep the available land against their own expected population increase of the near future. True, there are certain areas in the Kikuyu province which at the moment carry as low a population density as only 5 to the square mile, but they are areas which, without the expenditure of large sums of money, and work, could not carry a much bigger permanent population for the following reasons.

The population-carrying capacity of an area is not only determined by its food production possibilities, but far more by the amount of permanent water supply for man and beast.

In these areas, during the rainy seasons, there is of course ample water, but in the dry seasons, there is barely enough for a population of 5 to the square mile plus their flocks.

The mistakes that have been made in the past over questions of native land possibly cannot be altered, but at least let care be taken that these mistakes are not repeated and that every possible effort be made to improve conditions now, and above all things let the settlers be not misled into the idea that the natives come to them as Squatters because they like being Squatters.

Many of the Squatters, where they are well and fairly treated are temporarily quite content, but they know that their position is precarious because at any time they may find that their agreement is not renewed, and they will be forced to leave; or again, the farm on which they are "squatting" may change hands and their new landlord treat them so harshly that they will want to leave, and there is nowhere for them to go.

I said at the outset of this lecture that the change which would have come over the Africans in Kenya in thirty years' time would be far greater than the changes of the last thirty years.

Of that I am certain, but I am equally certain that unless drastic steps are taken to safeguard native interest and remedy certain evils, Kenya will find itself saddled among other things with a big homeless, landless, poverty-stricken group of natives, possibly forced to slum-like conditions on the fringes of the townships, and a very fertile bed for the sowing of seeds of sedition by anti-British agitators.

The natives of Kenya need the sympathetic co-operation of Government, settlers, and missionaries to help them. There seems to be an idea in this country, among a certain section, at least, of the community, that the natives of Kenya are being deliberately oppressed by the Europeans. That is not true. But what is true, *all too true*, is that far more often than not, through ignorance and misunderstanding, the honest desire of the Europeans to help the African results in actions which are unjust and unfair, and which cause great hardships and breed distrust.

## MATHEMATICS IN ANCIENT EGYPT.

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THIS article is an amplification of a lecture given in the Rylands Library on February 11th, 1931. It was pointed out at the time that the subject lent itself to two somewhat different kinds of treatment. The first of these—and the only one possible in a lecture of an hour's duration—consists in examining and describing the actual processes used by the Egyptian mathematician in solving the problems which confronted him. The second consists in the attempt to analyse the mental processes which underlie the actual operations and in showing how far these agree with or differ from our own. These two methods of treatment correspond to two successive stages in the history of the study of Egyptian mathematics. The publication of the Rhind Papyrus (see below) by Eisenlohr<sup>1</sup> in 1877 gave to science what was practically its first glimpse of pre-Greek mathematics, and the discussion which followed was mainly, though not entirely, concentrated on the external methods of the Egyptian mathematician. When the papyrus was republished<sup>2</sup> in 1923 the history of mathematics had advanced considerably, and the new edition provoked a series of valuable writings not so much on the concrete methods of the Egyptians as on the mental processes which lay behind them.

In the space at my disposal in this *Bulletin* it will be possible to treat the subject shortly from both points of view.

<sup>1</sup> AUGUST EISENLOHR, *Ein mathematisches Handbuch der alten Aegypter*, Leipzig, 1877.

<sup>2</sup> PEET, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, London, 1923; with it should be read B. GUNN'S invaluable review, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, xii, pp. 123 ff. A still more recent publication is A. B. CHACE'S elaborate work *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, Oberlin, Ohio, U.S.A., 1927.

## Sources of our Knowledge.

Our knowledge of Egyptian mathematics is mainly derived from papyri and fragments of papyri which have come down to us from ancient Egyptian times. The most important of these is the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus, now in the British Museum. This document was copied by a scribe called Ahmose in the thirty-third year of King Apepi, who ruled somewhere between 1788 and 1580 B.C., from an older papyrus dating from the reign of King Nemare (Amenemhet III), who reigned from 1849 to 1801 B.C. It contains eighty-four sums more or less completely worked out, together with a table intended for use in the multiplication of fractions, to be described below.

The contents of the papyrus show a certain amount of orderly arrangement. The table of fractions comes first. Then follow simple problems in number. Next we have problems on the volume of simple solids and the content of corn-bins, followed by the geometry of plane figures, and questions on the height and slope of pyramids. The papyrus ends with a number of miscellaneous problems in number.

The Moscow Papyrus,<sup>1</sup> which comes next in importance, shows no arrangement whatsoever. It contains twenty-five sums dealing with subjects as wide apart as volumes, areas, and the exchange of bread for beer; no attempt has been made to group together even those sums whose content is almost precisely identical.

Some fragments of papyrus found in 1889 at El-Lâhûn in Egypt contain a short table of fractions similar to that of Rhind, and six, possibly seven, other sums of varying content.<sup>2</sup>

The Egyptian Museum at Berlin possesses a short papyrus, No. 6619, which bears parts of three problems, two of which will be referred to below.<sup>3</sup>

Two wooden tablets in the Cairo Museum, Nos. 25367-8, bear complicated-looking calculations which are in effect nothing more than

<sup>1</sup> W. W. STRUVE, *Mathematischer Papyrus des staatlichen Museums der Schönen Künste in Moskau* (being Band I. of Abteilung A. of *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Mathematik*, herausgegeben von O. NEUGEBAUER, J. STENZEL, and O. TOEPLITZ), Berlin, 1930. Some vital corrections in a review in *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, xvii, pp. 154-160).









<sup>2</sup> F. LL. GRIFFITH, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob (The Petrie Papyri)*, London, 1898, pp. 15-18, and Plate viii.

<sup>3</sup> *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, xxxviii, pp. 135 ff., and xl, pp. 65-66.

the expression of certain fractions (a third, a seventh, etc.) of a *hekat* or gallon (dry measure) in terms of the dimidiated parts,  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4}$ ,  $\frac{1}{8}$  up to  $\frac{1}{64}$ , of the gallon which were used in ordinary transactions.<sup>1</sup>

A leather roll in the British Museum,<sup>2</sup> recently unrolled, contains a number of resolutions of various aliquot parts<sup>3</sup> into the sum of two or more smaller aliquot parts, e.g.  $\frac{1}{4} = \frac{1}{5} + \frac{1}{20}$ .

#### Notation.

The Egyptians had at a very early period developed a notation which enabled them to write numbers running into millions. Their system was decimal. The units from one to nine were written with from one to nine vertical strokes, e.g., III, . Ten was , twenty , and so on up to ninety. Each hundred was represented by , each thousand by , each hundred-thousand by  (the tadpole), and each million by . The number 1,234,357 was written thus : .

The ability to count up to such high numbers, and the devising of so admirable a means of expressing them, would in themselves stamp the Egyptian mathematical consciousness as being far ahead of that of the ordinary savage. Only one improvement could be suggested in the system, namely the device of positional notation. It can be no reproach to the Egyptians of 2000 B.C., however, that they missed what even the Greeks failed to invent, and what was left to the Indian mathematicians to devise and develop.<sup>4</sup>

#### The Four Simple Rules.

There is only one essential and elementary process in arithmetic, namely that of counting. When I say that 8 and 7 make 15

<sup>1</sup> Just as we might be asked to reduce one-seventh of a ton to hundred-weights, quarters, pounds and so on, with the difference that in the Egyptian system each measure was half of the one above it; compare the modern decimal system, where each measure is one tenth of the next above it. See *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, ix, pp. 91 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, xiii, pp. 232-239. See too KURT VOGEL, *Erweitert die Lederrolle unsere Kenntnis ägyptischer Mathematik?* in *Archiv für Geschichte der Mathematik, der Naturwissenschaften und der Technik*, Band II, Heft 4, 1929, pp. 386-407; O. NEUGEBAUER, *Zur ägyptischen Bruchrechnung*, in *Zeitschr. für äg. Sprache*, lxiv, pp. 44-48.

<sup>3</sup> An aliquot part is a fraction whose numerator is 1.

<sup>4</sup> Positional notation requires among other things the invention of a sign for zero. The Egyptians had none.



I commit an act of memory, which can only be verified by putting down two lots of 8 and 7 objects respectively and counting them. The same may be said of subtraction. It goes without saying that a people who could count beyond a million had no difficulty about the addition and subtraction of whole numbers.

But multiplication and division, too, are, at bottom, forms of counting. I may happen to remember that 8 times 7 is 56, but if I had forgotten there would be nothing to do but to lay out 8 lots of 7 objects and count them. And that is the reason why, as young children, we learn a multiplication table, running usually up to 12 times 12, and sometimes much higher. Now the only multiplication table which an Egyptian learned was 2-times; in other words, he could only multiply directly by 2, and if he wished to multiply by a larger number he had to do it by a series of doublings. Thus, to multiply 7 by 13 he did as follows:—

—1	7
2	14
—4	28
—8	56
Total	91

First he wrote down the number to be multiplied, with the unit 1 in front of it. By doubling he saw that  $2 \times 7$  was 14, and by doubling again that  $4 \times 7$  was 28, and so on. He then observed that the multipliers of the first, third and fourth lines, namely 1, 4 and 8, made up the required multiplier 13. He ticked off these lines and added up the products in them, which gave him 91 as his answer.



It will easily be seen that a little ingenuity in playing with the multipliers 2, 4, 8, etc., would enable any required multiplier to be made up, and the process was facilitated by the fact that, the notation being decimal, it was possible to multiply by 10 without any working or memory at all; for to multiply a number, say  $30 \overset{\cap}{\cap}$ , by 10, you had merely to change each  $\cap$  into the next higher decimal unit, namely  $\epsilon$ , giving  $300 \epsilon\epsilon\epsilon$ .

The process of division presented on paper the same appearance as that of multiplication. To divide 91 by 7 the Egyptian "counted" with 7, by the usual process of doubling, thus:—

—1	7
2	14
—4	28
—8	56

At this point he saw that the products in the first, third and fourth lines added up to 91. He therefore ticked off those lines and added up the multipliers in them, whose sum gave him the required quotient 13.

### Fractions.

With the exception of  $\frac{2}{3}$ , for which a special sign existed, the Egyptian could write no fractions except those whose numerator was unity, *i.e.*,  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{1}{3}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4}$ ,  $\frac{1}{5}$ , and so on ; in other words, his fractional notation was limited to "aliquot parts." These were expressed by writing the figure which formed the denominator under the sign  (the mouth), perhaps an old word meaning a "part," reduced in hieratic<sup>1</sup> to a mere dot. Thus  stands for  $\frac{1}{5}$ .

To a modern reader the limits of this notation seem very narrow. He is inclined to ask whether they denote a similar limit in the Egyptian's *conception* of fractional quantities. The answer must depend on exactly what we mean here by conception. We, for instance, have a clear conception of  $\frac{3}{7}$  not only as the result of dividing an object into 7 parts and taking three of them, or of dividing a mass made of 3 units into 7 parts, but also as a new unit in itself, which can be treated like a whole number and subjected to whatsoever mathematical operations we may choose. Now, the Egyptian, who was thoroughly at home with aliquot parts, can only have reached them by dividing unity into so many parts. And, that being so, having divided an object into 7 parts he must have further seen that these parts could be grouped together 1 against 6, 2 against 5, or 3 against 4. To this extent he must have had the conception of  $\frac{2}{7}$ ,  $\frac{3}{7}$ ,  $\frac{4}{7}$ ,  $\frac{5}{7}$  and  $\frac{6}{7}$ , but only as collections of 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 units respectively, each consisting of  $\frac{1}{7}$ . He did not make the further step which we make when we regard each of these as a separate entity,  $\frac{2}{7}$ ,  $\frac{3}{7}$ , etc., capable of being treated as a new unit

<sup>1</sup> The cursive script, written in ink, usually on papyrus, as distinct from the hieroglyphic script in which the signs were carefully cut or painted on stone or wood, or engraved on metal.

and of undergoing mathematical operations. He could regard  $\frac{1}{7}$  as a unit, but not  $\frac{2}{7}$ ; that was for him merely the result of adding together 3 units each of  $\frac{1}{7}$ . The only exceptions to this inability to conceive (in our sense) a fraction other than an aliquot part seem to have been the complementary fractions, *i.e.*, those which are produced by subtracting an aliquot part from unity, such as  $\frac{4}{5}$ ,  $\frac{7}{8}$  and  $\frac{99}{100}$ . These were, it is true, not in common use, but there is some evidence that a few such, especially  $\frac{2}{3}$ ,  $\frac{4}{5}$  and  $\frac{5}{6}$ , existed, and could be expressed in writing.<sup>1</sup>

#### Application of the Four Simple Rules to Fractions.

Fractions were multiplied in just the same way as whole numbers, *i.e.* by continued doublings. When a fraction with even denominator was to be doubled no difficulty was found, for the Egyptian knew that twice  $\frac{1}{4}$  was  $\frac{1}{2}$ , and this was a fraction he could handle. But when he came to twice  $\frac{1}{5}$  or twice  $\frac{1}{7}$  his notation failed him, and, since he for some reason objected to writing the results as  $\frac{1}{5} + \frac{1}{5}$ ,  $\frac{1}{7} + \frac{1}{7}$ , he was forced to find some other way out of the difficulty.

Now any fraction of the form  $\frac{2}{n}$ , where  $n$  is an odd number, can be broken up into the sum of two or more fractions whose numerators are unity, *e.g.*,  $\frac{2}{5} = \frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{15}$ . And this is just what the Egyptians did; they worked out for themselves a table of such resolutions, beginning with  $\frac{2}{5}$ ,  $\frac{2}{7}$ ,  $\frac{2}{9}$ , and running up to  $\frac{2}{95}$  and  $\frac{2}{101}$ . This table forms the opening portion of the Rhind Papyrus. The problem involved can be solved in a number of ways, and a modern mathematician would deal with it by some such formula as  $\frac{2}{n} = \frac{1}{a} + \frac{1}{na}$ , where  $a = \frac{n+1}{2}$ , which would give a methodical series of results. The Egyptian table, however, shows that no general formula was used, but that the results were purely empirical and obtained by gradual collection.<sup>2</sup> The method used was to take the number 2, and try to separate

<sup>1</sup> K. SETHE, *Von Zahlen und Zahlworten bei den alten Ägyptern*, Strassburg, 1916, pp. 91 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For recent work on this table, which has attracted the attention of the mathematicians, see O. NEUGEBAUER, *Die Grundlagen der ägyptischen Bruchrechnungen*, Berlin, 1926, pp. 18 ff., and K. VOGEL, *Die Grundlagen der ägyptischen Arithmetik*, Munich, 1929, pp. 53 ff.

it into two or more parts each of which would divide without remainder into the denominator. If this was a multiple of 3 then the 2 was divided into  $1\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{2}$ . Thus  $\frac{2}{3}$  became  $\frac{1\frac{1}{2}}{9} + \frac{\frac{1}{2}}{9}$ , or  $\frac{1}{6} + \frac{1}{18}$ . When the denominator was a multiple of 5 the 2 was broken up into  $1\frac{2}{5} + \frac{1}{5}$ . In more complicated cases simple devices of this sort failed, and the results were doubtless got in many cases by repeated trials. As an example of the more complicated results we may quote the resolution of  $\frac{2}{73}$  into  $\frac{1}{60} + \frac{1}{219} + \frac{1}{292} + \frac{1}{665}$ .

With this table at their elbow, and with a process of multiplication which involved nothing more than doubling, the Egyptians handled the multiplication of fractions boldly and accurately. They were fully aware that to divide by, say, 7 was the same thing as to multiply by  $\frac{1}{7}$ , or, more simply, to take one-seventh, and they used such multipliers as  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4}$ ,  $\frac{1}{8}$ , or  $\frac{1}{3}$ ,  $\frac{1}{6}$ ,  $\frac{1}{12}$  quite readily. One thing, however, astonishes us: they reached  $\frac{1}{3}$  of a number not directly, but indirectly, by halving  $\frac{2}{3}$  of it. We saw above that  $\frac{2}{3}$  was the only fraction with numerator greater than unity for which there was a notation, and we now see that to take  $\frac{2}{3}$  was in some way actually a more fundamental operation than taking  $\frac{1}{3}$ . This is not quite so paradoxical as might appear, for we may regard  $\frac{2}{3}$  of  $x$  as that number which when its half is added to it gives  $x$ . In this way we get at  $\frac{2}{3}$  by the use only of the fraction  $\frac{1}{2}$ , which was more fundamental than  $\frac{1}{3}$ , since it only involved division by 2.

The addition<sup>1</sup> of fractions is best explained by means of an actual example (R. 32),<sup>2</sup> which will serve the further purpose of illustrating the multiplication of fractions by fractions. The task is to show that

$$(1 + \frac{1}{6} + \frac{1}{12} + \frac{1}{14} + \frac{1}{28})(1 + \frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{4})$$

equals 2; the figures shown are as follows:

<sup>1</sup> In reality the Egyptian seldom needed to add fractions; in the example before us it would have been in full accordance with his notation simply to write out the series of fractions in descending order, beginning with 1,  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{1}{3}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4}$ ,  $\frac{1}{5}$  down to  $\frac{1}{61}$ . It was precisely the weakness of this notation that a complicated series like this might, as it does here, conceal a very simple fraction or even a whole number. This could only be ascertained by testing.

<sup>2</sup> In quoting problems from the papyri R. is used for Rhind and M. for Moscow.





way in which we write this process out shows that we know throughout exactly what we are doing. We say  $\frac{1}{5}$  is six thirtieths, and  $\frac{1}{6}$  is five thirtieths, total eleven thirtieths. Now the Egyptian, who had no notation for five thirtieths, could not show the mental process as clearly as we do in his writing out, yet it must have been the same as ours, for no other is possible. However we describe it we cannot get away from this. Chace,<sup>1</sup> for instance, would say that the Egyptian "applied" his denominators in turn to the number 912, chosen as being suitable for the purpose, added the results, and found that the total 228 when "applied" to 912 gave  $\frac{1}{4}$ . But though this is a fair enough description of the arithmetical operation performed it shirks completely the thought which alone could have prompted it. Just as the whole method of the table of resolutions of 2-fractions shows that the Egyptian was quite clear that to divide 2 by 5 was the same thing as to double a fifth, *i.e.*, to add a fifth to a fifth, so here he is aware, when he divides 228 by 912 and gets  $\frac{1}{4}$ , that this is the same thing as saying that if we divide unity into 912 parts and take 228 of them the result is  $\frac{1}{4}$  of unity; in other words, the red figures which add up to 228 represent in effect 912ths. Otherwise the process has no reason and could never have been devised.

#### Other Arithmetical Processes.

Squaring and taking the square root were both practised. The former, though distinguished by a special name, whose literal meaning is not certain (apparently connected with the verb *sny*, to "pass by"), was merely a special case of multiplication. The square root was expressed by "corner," a term clearly derived from the picture of a square. In the Berlin Papyrus 6619, the square roots of  $6\frac{1}{4}$  and of  $1\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{16}$  are correctly given. These were no doubt known from trials, and there is no evidence of the existence of a method for taking the square root.

Proportion plays a very large part in Egyptian mathematics, though it is never explicitly formulated. An example (M. 11) will give readers an idea of its use:—

"Example of reckoning the work<sup>2</sup> of a man in logs of wood. If

<sup>1</sup> CHACE, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-10. A good criticism of this view by VOGEL in *Archeion*, xii (1930), pp. 398-399.

<sup>2</sup> This might mean "contribution," "tax."

they say to thee 'The work of a man in logs ; the amount of his work is 100 logs of 5-handbreadth section.<sup>1</sup> He has brought them, however, in logs of 4-handbreadth section. (How many should there be ?)'

"You are to square these 5 handbreadths ; result 25. You are to square the 4 handbreadths ; result 16. You are to operate on this 16 to get 25 ; result  $1\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{16}$  times. You are to take 100 this number of times ; result  $156\frac{1}{4}$ . Then shall you say to him (*i.e.*, to the scribe who sets the problem) 'Behold, this is the number of logs which he brought of 4-handbreadth section. You will find it right.'"

A modern boy handling this sum would be expected to state the proportion  $16 : 25 :: 100 : x$ , and then either to multiply 100 by 25 and divide the result by 16, or, like the Egyptian, to divide 25 by 16 and multiply the result by 100.

#### Problems in Arithmetic.

The simplest of the arithmetical examples in the papyri are the sums (R. 1-6) which deal with the division of various numbers of loaves among 10 men. For the modern there is no problem here, for if 7 loaves are to be divided among 10 men the answer  $\frac{7}{10}$  can be given directly from the data. For the Egyptian, however, who could not write the fraction  $\frac{7}{10}$ , there was a real problem involved, namely how to express  $\frac{7}{10}$  as the sum of two or more aliquot parts. The answer is  $\frac{2}{3} + \frac{1}{30}$  (remember that  $\frac{2}{3}$  ranks with the aliquot parts). This answer is not worked out from the data ; it is assumed, and proved to be correct by multiplying by 10. The whole reads as follows :

"To divide 7 loaves among 10 men.

You are to multiply  $\frac{2}{3} + \frac{1}{30}$  by 10 :

The doing of it :

1	$\frac{2}{3} + \frac{1}{30}$
- 2	$1\frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{15}$
4	$2\frac{2}{3} + \frac{1}{10} + \frac{1}{30}$
- 8	$5\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{10}$
Total	7 loaves. This is it."

<sup>1</sup> It matters not whether the logs are round or square in section. They are assumed to be constant in length.

This method of dealing with a problem, namely assuming the answer and proving that it gives the data ("This is *it*"), is typical of Egyptian mathematics, and we shall have to return to it later.

Among the simple problems in number the most interesting are perhaps those which correspond to what we now call equations of the first degree with one unknown, *e.g.*,  $x + \frac{x}{a} = b$ . An example (R. 26) will make this clear.

"A quantity whose fourth part is added to it becomes 15. (What is the quantity?)

(*Step A*) Reckon with 4.

Make their quarter, namely 1. Total 5.

(*Step B*) Reckon with 5 to find 15.

—1	5	
—2	10	The result is 3.

(*Step C*) Multiply 3 by 4

1	3	
2	6	
—4	12	The result is 12.

(*Proof*). 

1	12	
$\frac{1}{4}$	3	Total 15.

(*Answer*). The quantity is 12 ; its quarter is 3. Total 15."

The arithmetical operations here performed are obvious. The number 4 is taken, its quarter is added to it, giving 5. This 5 is divided into the given 15, and the resulting 3 is multiplied by 4, giving the correct answer 12.

But what is the thought-process behind this? Cantor thought that it was precisely that of the solution of the equation  $1\frac{1}{4}x = 15$ ; that in Step A  $1\frac{1}{4}$  was reduced to an improper fraction  $\frac{5}{4}$ , in Step B the numerator 5 was divided into 15, and in Step C the result multiplied by the denominator 4.

This solution does not fit in with what we know of the handling of fractional quantities by the Egyptians.<sup>1</sup> It seems more probable that the method is that of trial. The number 4 with which Step A begins is a trial number, chosen because its fourth part involves no fractions. The result of performing the given operation on the trial number is 5.

<sup>1</sup> See, however, p. 422, note 2.

But the given result is 15, and our trial number must, therefore, be multiplied by 3. This is precisely the method which we should follow if told to solve this sum without the use of the algebraical symbol  $x$ , and it involves no mathematical principle save that of proportion: if the trial number 4 gives a third of the required result then we must take three times 4.<sup>1</sup>

Some problems of this type are solved directly by division. R. 30 is an example of this kind; it will also show the reader a favourite manner of wording problems in Egyptian:

"If a scribe<sup>2</sup> says to you

'10 has become  $\frac{2}{3} + \frac{1}{10}$  of what?'

"Let him hear:

'Operate on  $\frac{2}{3} + \frac{1}{10}$  to find 10,' etc.

As a result of the operation, which consists, as may be guessed, of trials by successive doubling, the answer is found to be  $13\frac{1}{3}$ , and the sum is proved by multiplying this number by  $\frac{2}{3} + \frac{1}{10}$  and getting the expected 10 as a result.

<sup>1</sup>VOGEL, *Archeion*, xii (1930), pp. 138-140, objects that if this were the method used Step C ought to be not multiply 3 by 4 but multiply 4 by 3. In the strictly logical sense this is true; 4 is the original trial number and 3 the "proportional factor." At the same time I see no reason why the Egyptian, who was well aware of the Commutative Law ( $a \times b = b \times a$ ) should not have preferred the very practical if slightly less logical method of taking the result of each step as the first premise of the next. Just as in Step B he takes as basis the 5 which resulted from Step A, so in Step C he starts off with the 3 which he has just obtained from Step B. Vogel's own solution of the problem is based on the conception of abstract number. He thinks that the Egyptian envisaged the quantity to be found as a 4-head consisting of 4 quarters (Rechne mit einer Vierheit d.h. mache den Haufen zu einer Vierheit von 4 Häufchen, von 4 "Viertel-x"). This does, it is true, explain the steps as they stand, and above all shows why in Step C 3 is multiplied by 4 and not 4 by 3. But Vogel's claim that this avoids the use of a trial number is baseless, for what is his 4-head but a trial number?

<sup>2</sup>No one, so far as I know, has explained why the setter of the problem is always referred to as "the scribe." We know of no Egyptian word for a mathematician, and possibly there was no more specific word than scribe, though doubtless not all scribes were mathematicians. Scribe must have been in ancient Egypt almost synonymous with educated man, since the rare ability to write lay at the basis of all education. The use of this word here lends no colour to the widely accepted belief that mathematics, and indeed all the sciences, lay in the hands of the priesthood.

These "quantity" problems were sometimes worded in that concrete manner which appealed so strongly to the Egyptian mind. R. 35 reads :—

"I have gone three times into the gallon measure ; my third part is then added to me and I return complete. What is it that says this ?"

This wording is puzzling, but its meaning is explained by the working of the sum, which consists in dividing unity by  $3\frac{1}{3}$ . To "return complete" must then mean to "make up a gallon," and the problem is to find the quantity which when taken  $3\frac{1}{3}$  times comes to a gallon (dry measure). The answer is found to be  $\frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{10}$  of a gallon, or 96 *ro* ( $320 \text{ ro} = 1 \text{ gallon}$ ), or, expressed in the dimidiated portions of the gallon used in everyday transactions ( $\frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{32} + \frac{1}{64}$ ) gallon + 1 *ro*.

While the problems just treated correspond to our simple equations of the first degree with one unknown, there are two others which might similarly be said to correspond to equations of the second degree. The first is M. 6 (the same problem also occurs as part of one of the sums in the El-Lâhûn fragments). Here we are to find the sides of a rectangle of area 12, given that one side is  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the other. Stated in the form of an equation this would be  $\frac{3}{4}x^2 = 12$ , where the sides are  $x$  and  $\frac{3}{4}x$ . The Egyptian, how-

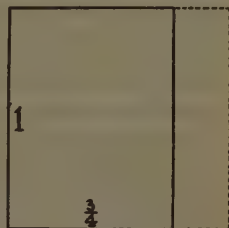


Fig. 1.

ever, uses no  $x$  and approaches the question graphically (Fig. 1). He sees that had the figure been a square whose side is the longer of the two sides of the given rectangle it would be  $\frac{4}{3}$  times as large,  $\frac{4}{3}$  being the reciprocal of  $\frac{3}{4}$ . Such a square he proceeds to construct. To get the reciprocal of  $\frac{3}{4}$  he divides unity by it ; result  $1\frac{1}{3}$ . Then he multiplies the given area 12 by  $1\frac{1}{3}$ , getting 16 for the area of the square. The square root of this, namely 4, will be the longer side required, and the other will be got by taking  $\frac{3}{4}$  of this.

This solution involves no algebra, nor even the use of a trial number, and the only assumption made is that if we have a rectangle, and we multiply one of its sides by  $k$ , leaving the other side constant, the area will also be multiplied by  $k$ —a theorem which follows at once from the formula for the area of a rectangle, *i.e.*, from the conception of square measure (see below, p. 430).



In the next problem we again have what corresponds to an equation of the second degree. The problem occurs, much damaged, in Papyrus Berlin 6619. Here, despite the difficulties of restoring a consistent text, which are even greater than any writer hitherto has realised,<sup>1</sup> there seems no reason to doubt that the problem was to divide 100 into two parts, one of whose square roots is  $\frac{3}{4}$  that of the other.

The method is that of trial,<sup>2</sup> unity being taken for one of the

<sup>1</sup> Neugebauer's courageous restoration, *Arithmetik u. Rechenstechnik der Ägypter* (*Quellen u. Studien zur Gesch. d. Math.*, Abt. B, Bd. I, Heft 3), pp. 310-311, involves some serious logical problems.

<sup>2</sup> Neugebauer in a recent publication, *Arithmetik und Rechenstechnik der Ägypter* (*Quellen u. Studien zur Gesch. d. Math.*, Abt. B, Bd. I, Heft 3), pp. 305 ff., denies the use of a trial number, be it unity or any other, in all these problems, and returns to Cantor's theory that they are solved as equations, in the modern manner, by multiplying the absolute term (on the right in our modern arrangement) by the inverse of the coefficient of  $x$  (on the left). The unknown  $x$  is, of course, the ' $h$ ' or "quantity," and in one case, M. 25, where the equation is  $2x + x = 9$ , Neugebauer believes that this unknown is explicitly operated on under the name ' $h$ '. The words are "Add the quantity to the 2; result 3. Divide the 3 into 9; result 3 times. 3 is the number required." At the same time, even if we accept the curious wording of the text here in spite of the suspicion thrown on it by the occurrence of a vital omission in the setting of the sum (the preposition *hn* is followed by no object!), and agree that it involves the explicit use of an unknown and the solution of an equation in the modern style, it does not follow that the same method was used in other cases. Indeed it is by no means a merit in Neugebauer's hypothesis that it assumes uniformity of treatment in all these problems, even including those which correspond to equations of the second degree, for the outstanding characteristic of Egyptian mathematics is precisely the lack of any such uniformity.

Thus while I should be sorry to deny outright the possibility of Neugebauer's being right in regard to such problems as are solved by what I have called direct division (R. 30-38, M. 19, 25), yet I still think that in R. 24-27, where the coefficient of  $x$  (speaking in modern terms) is 1 plus an aliquot part, e.g.,  $1\frac{1}{7}$  (R. 24), the method used was one of trial, the trial number chosen being, for obvious reasons, in each case the denominator of the aliquot part, e.g., in the case quoted, 7. In this example, if Neugebauer were right, and the process was that of simply dividing the 19 by the coefficient of  $x$ , namely  $1\frac{1}{7}$ , the method would have been that of R. 31-34, namely to operate on  $1 + \frac{1}{7}$  to find 19. Yet he asks us to believe that the Egyptian turned  $1\frac{1}{7}$  into  $\frac{8}{7}$  (an improper fraction, be it noted), and then multiplied the 19 by the inversion of this. Where in the papyri can we find a justification for such a procedure? What Egyptian ever took seven-eighths of 19 by dividing it by 8 and multiplying the result by 7, which are the two arithmetical operations actually performed in this problem.

quantities, and consequently  $\frac{3}{4}$  for the other. These are squared and added, result  $1\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{16}$  ( $1\frac{9}{16}$ ). The square root of this is taken, namely  $1\frac{1}{4}$ . Next the square root of 100 is taken, viz., 10. This is 8 times  $1\frac{1}{4}$ , and accordingly the trial numbers taken, namely 1 and  $\frac{3}{4}$ , must be multiplied by 8. Result 8 and 6 for the numbers sought.

The equation to which this problem corresponds is  $x^2 + y^2 = 100$ , where  $y$  is  $\frac{3}{4}x$ , or, in other words,  $x^2 + \frac{9}{16}x^2 = 100$ . The steps taken in the Egyptian solution are arithmetically exactly those which we should take in solving this equation by "algebra," for the simple reason that there are no other steps by which the answer can be obtained. But the Egyptian method is not algebraic, for no symbol is operated on, and the method is clearly that of trial.

The problems with which we have just been dealing bring us face to face with the question whether the Egyptians made use in any sense of algebra in their mathematics. In so far as algebra consists of the employment of symbols accompanied by the performance of mathematical operations upon them, our reply to the question will largely depend upon the view we have taken of these problems which correspond to modern equations of the first and second degree. If we accept Cantor's and Neugebauer's view of them, then algebra, in the sense above indicated, is involved. If their view be not accepted—and the writer is far from being convinced by it—there is in the papyrus no instance, either implicit or explicit, of the use of a symbol for an unknown.<sup>1</sup> The fact that the problem from the Berlin Papyrus dealt with above speaks of the two unknowns as "the one quantity" and "the other quantity" does not tell against this; it is impossible to state a problem about two quantities without referring to them by some name, and the names or symbols are not operated on in the problems.<sup>2</sup> The case for the use of algebra in this sense in the papyrus is thus very far from convincing.

<sup>1</sup> Even if Neugebauer's supposition be correct he can only point to one use of a symbol (M. 25, see p. 422, n. 2), and that in a problem whose text is not above suspicion.

<sup>2</sup> Contrary to the opinion of VOGEL, *Die Algebra der Ägypter des mittleren Reiches*, in *Archeion*, xii, p. 152, who has, I suspect, been misled by an inaccurate restoration and translation of the problem. The expressions "the one quantity" and "the other quantity" are never operated on, but only occur in the twice repeated explanatory phrase, "since the one quantity is  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the other."

Algebra in the modern sense, however, has a wider meaning than this, and may be present even when no symbols are employed. It has been defined as the "performing of arithmetical operations upon combinations of number- or space-units of every kind."<sup>1</sup> In this sense, too, algebra seems to be absent from the Egyptian papyri. Whether the application of a general formula of any kind, such as that of R. 61b, where we are told that to make  $\frac{2}{3}$  of a fraction we must take its half plus its sixth part, in itself constitutes algebra is for the philosophers of mathematics rather than for the historians to decide.

Two problems involve arithmetical progression. In R. 64 we are asked to divide 10 gallons of barley among 10 men in such a way that the excess of each man over his neighbour is  $\frac{1}{8}$  of a gallon. In modern terms, find a series of 10 numbers in arithmetical progression whose sum is 10 and whose common difference is  $\frac{1}{8}$ . The method of solution is as follows: Take the mean share, namely 1 gallon. Now take 1 from 10, result 9. Halve the common difference, giving  $\frac{1}{16}$ , and multiply it by 9; result  $\frac{9}{2} + \frac{1}{16}$ . Add this to the mean share to obtain the highest share. Subtract  $\frac{1}{8}$  each time to find the succeeding shares. The answer is  $1\frac{9}{16}$ ,  $1\frac{7}{16}$ ,  $1\frac{5}{16}$  and so on down to  $\frac{7}{16}$  gallons.

Though this is not the modern method it is a perfectly sound way of looking at arithmetical progression. If the number of terms is odd the mean share will be actually the middle term, and to get the last term we must add on  $\frac{n-1}{2}$  times the common difference, where  $n$  is the number of terms. That the Egyptian added half the common difference multiplied by  $n-1$  merely argues his acquaintance with the Law of Commutation, which is evident over and over again in his mathematics.

It will be observed that if the number of terms is even the common share does not actually correspond with any of the shares, but a little thought will show that the Egyptian's rule remains valid. It would be interesting to know whether he had realised this. If he had, it would seem that he had evolved a general formula for the treatment of the arithmetical progression.

<sup>1</sup> Thus to say  $(8-2)^2 = 6^2$  is arithmetic, but to say  $(8-2)^2 = 8^2 - 2 \cdot 8 \cdot 2 + 2^2$  is algebra. See, further, in this connection, O. GILLAIN, *La Science égyptienne: L'Arithmétique au Moyen Empire*, Brussels, 1927, pp. 245-250.

R. 40 also involves arithmetical progression. It runs: "A hundred loaves to 5 men, one seventh of the first three men to the two last. What is the difference of share?"

Here 100 loaves are to be divided among 5 men, the two last men together receiving one seventh of the combined shares of the first three. A further condition, not explicit in the setting, but perhaps implicit in the use of the word for "difference of share," is that the five shares are to be in arithmetical progression.

The solution is disappointing. A trial "difference of share" of  $5\frac{1}{2}$  is taken, and in addition a trial highest share of 23. The shares are found to be 23,  $17\frac{1}{2}$ , 12,  $6\frac{1}{2}$ , and 1, which do indeed fulfil the condition stated, namely that the sum of the two last is one seventh of that of three first. They add up to 60, and, since the given 100 is  $1\frac{2}{3}$  times 60, the trial shares have each to be multiplied by  $1\frac{2}{3}$ , giving  $38\frac{1}{3}$ ,  $29\frac{1}{3}$ , 20,  $10\frac{2}{3}$ ,  $1\frac{2}{3}$ , for the shares.<sup>1</sup>

The answer is right, but the method is fraudulent, for two trial numbers are taken—a wholly illogical procedure. Clearly it had been observed that in the actual series taken, 23, etc., the last two terms were one seventh of the first three, and a problem based on this observation had been devised.

The Rhind Papyrus has preserved for us a question which manifestly deals with what we should call a geometrical progression. It appears in the following form:—

"An inventory of a household :

1	2801	7 houses
2	5602	49 cats
4	11204	343 mice
Total	19607	2401 wheat
		16807 gallons
		Total 19607."

Remembering the children's rhyme which begins "As I was going to St. Ives, I met a man with seven wives," we shall have no difficulty in interpreting the Egyptian sum as follows: "There were 7 houses, each house had seven cats, each cat killed 7 mice, each mouse would have eaten 7 grains of wheat, and each grain of wheat would have

<sup>1</sup> The writer forgets that his problem was to find the common difference.

produced 7 gallons of corn." The total is that of all the things mentioned. But the interest lies in the fact that it is not reached by mere addition of the second column, for in the first column stands what we at once recognise as the multiplication of 2801 by 7, giving the correct total, 19607. This multiplication corresponds to the modern formula for summing a geometric series in which the first term is the same as the common difference, namely  $r \frac{l-1}{r-1}$ , where  $l$  is the last term and  $r$  the common difference. Thus our series

$$7 \quad 49 \quad 343 \quad 2401 \quad 16807,$$

where the last term is 16807 and the common difference is 7, would give  $7 \times 2801$ .

It is tempting here to suppose that the Egyptians were using a general formula. Neugebauer, however, has pointed out<sup>1</sup> that if we take off the last term and put on another in front, namely 1, we get a series which, when multiplied by 7, would give the present one. This multiplication would appear as follows :—

—1	1	7	49	343	2401	2801
—2	2	14	98	686	4802	5602
—4	4	28	196	1372	9604	11204
<hr/>						
7	7	49	343	2401	16807	19607

In the top line stands the series to be multiplied, and on the right, after the vertical line, is its sum. In the next line the series is doubled, as is also its sum. The third line shows the re-doubling of these again, and the last line gives the addition of the three lines, which is equivalent to 7 times the top line. The figure 19607 is thus seen to be not only the sum of the figures to the left of it in its own line but also 7 times 2801.

The principle underlying this is simply that the sum of any geometric series from its second to its  $n$ th term is equal to the sum from the first to the  $(n-1)$ th term multiplied by the common ratio. There is nothing to prove that the Egyptians had grasped this general principle, and in any case it is of little practical use in the summing of

<sup>1</sup> NEUGEBAUER, *Die Grundlagen*, etc., p. 14, note 4; *Arithmetik u. Rechentechnik der Ägypter*, pp. 316-317.



series ; to add from the 2nd up to the  $n$ th term is little more trouble than adding from the 1st up to the  $(n - 1)$ th.

Before we pass on to the subject of Egyptian geometry the reader may be interested to have some specimens of what may be called general arithmetical questions. These, it will be noticed, are all set in concrete form ; they deal with problems which might arise in everyday life. For instance, in a country where there was no coinage and all trade was by barter, it was necessary to have some basis on which exchanges could be made. In the case of two very common necessities of life, bread and beer, this was particularly simple, for both were made from grain, and the exchange could be calculated on the basis of the amount of grain used to make the one or the other. If four equal loaves had been made from a gallon of barley the *pefsu* ("cooking figure," from *pefs*, "to cook") of the loaves was said to be 4 ; each loaf would actually contain  $\frac{1}{4}$  gallon of grain. In the case of beer, if 2 *des* (let us say "pints") were made from a gallon of barley, the *pefsu* of the beer was 2. Notice, however, that while the *pefsu* gave the actual size of loaves it gave not the quantity of beer but the strength.

A single example (R. 78) will show how these sums were worked :

"Example of exchanging bread for beer. If they say to you : 'A hundred loaves of *pefsu* 10, exchanged for a quantity of beer of *pefsu* 2. (Find the number of pints.)'

"You are to turn the 100 loaves of *pefsu* 10 back into flour, *i.e.*, 10 gallons. Multiply by 2 ; the result thereof is 20. Then shall you say 'This is their exchange.'"

Another set of examples drawn from everyday life is R. 82-84, which deal with the food of the domestic animals. These sums are unfortunately full of mistakes and contain other obscurities. Their calculations are very simple, and their importance is rather for the archæologist than for the mathematician.

M. 21 shows how to find the "average" of two lots of loaves, 20 containing each  $\frac{1}{8}$  gallon of flour, and 40 containing each  $\frac{1}{16}$  gallon. The 20 are shown to contain in all  $2\frac{1}{2}$  gallons, and the 40 also  $2\frac{1}{2}$  gallons. The total flour is 5 gallons, and this, when made into 60 loaves ( $20 + 40$ ), will allow  $\frac{1}{12}$  gallon for each loaf. It is only when we reach the answer that we fully understand what was meant by the

“average”; the total number of loaves is to remain the same, but all the loaves are to be of the same size.

R. 63 is an interesting example because the solution is completely on modern lines :

“Example of dividing 700 loaves among four men,  $\frac{2}{3}$  to one,  $\frac{1}{2}$  to another,  $\frac{1}{3}$  to another, and  $\frac{1}{4}$  to another. Let me know the share of each.”

The 700 loaves are to be divided in the proportions  $\frac{2}{3}$ ,  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{1}{3}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4}$ . The proportions are first added ; total  $1\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{4}$  ( $1\frac{3}{4}$ ). This is now inverted, or, as an Egyptian says, 1 is divided by it ; result  $\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{14}$ . This fraction ( $\frac{7}{14}$  in our notation) is now taken of 700, the result being 400. The 400 is lastly multiplied by each of the proportions  $\frac{2}{3}$  etc. in turn, and the results are  $266\frac{2}{3}$ , 200,  $133\frac{1}{3}$ , 100. The result is proved by simple addition.

The procedure here used can be found in any modern elementary primer of arithmetic : “Add the proportions, divide the number to be distributed by their sum ; multiply the result by each of the proportions in turn.”

Our last example of arithmetic is R. 66, which illustrates an important point :

“Ten gallons of fat have been issued for a year. What is the daily ration thereof ?”

The 10 gallons are turned into *ro* (320 per gallon), giving 3200. The year is turned into 365 days, and 3200 is divided by 365, giving  $8\frac{2}{3} + \frac{1}{10} + \frac{1}{2190}$  *ro* per day. The example ends with the words : “You may do similarly for any example like this which is put to you.”

The interest of these last words lies in the fact that only twice, here and in R. 61*b*, do we find it stated that a method is of general application. In the present case the words mean no more than that whenever a year's supply of any commodity is to be apportioned out into days it must be divided by 365. This must have been fairly obvious, and the phrase hardly deserves the name formula.

In R. 61*b*, however, the words used have more force. The problem is to make  $\frac{2}{3}$  of a *tyt gebi*, which probably means a fraction with numerator 1 and denominator an odd number.<sup>1</sup> The solution is

<sup>1</sup> GUNN'S suggestion in *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, xii, p. 134, is undoubtedly right. Obviously  $\frac{2}{3}$  of a fraction with even denominator could be—and, as the papyrus itself shows, was—taken directly.

to take  $\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{6}$ , and the scribe adds "Behold it is done likewise in the case of any *tyt gebt* which may occur." Here we have certainly a general formula, the only one which is explicitly stated in the whole literature of Egyptian mathematics. Writers on ancient mathematics have been inclined to reproach the Egyptians with this failure to lay down general rules in their mathematical papyri, and in consequence these have been regarded as collections of examples rather than as instructional treatises. This reproach is removed completely, to my mind, by Gunn's admirable suggestion<sup>1</sup> that the examples are intended to serve as formulæ, but formulæ in which, either for convenience or of necessity, numbers have to take the place of symbols. Thus the writer of M. 14, wishing to give the formula for the volume of a truncated pyramid whose top and bottom are squares of sides  $a$  and  $b$  respectively, and whose height is  $h$ , cannot write, as we do,  $V = \frac{h}{3}(a^2 + ab + b^2)$ , for he has evolved no symbols. If he were to write out "Square the side of the upper bounding square, add to it the product of the sides of both bounding squares, and the square of the side of the lower bounding square; divide this sum by 3, and multiply by the height," his formula would be exceedingly clumsy, if indeed it remained intelligible at all. What he does, therefore, is to give to the three dimensions the simple numbers 2, 4, and 6, and to write "Square 2, multiply 2 by 4, square 4. Add the results and multiply by one third of 6." All this is just as clear as if  $a$ ,  $b$ , and  $c$  had been used for the data, and the example<sup>2</sup> serves not only as a specific case but also as a general formula.

### Geometry of two Dimensions.

The Egyptians had explored the field of two-dimensional geometry with considerable success. They had correctly determined the area of the rectangle and (in the writer's opinion) of the triangle, and found a remarkably good approximation to the area of the circle.

<sup>1</sup>*Journ. Eg. Arch.*, xv, pp. 184-185.

<sup>2</sup>It is indeed not altogether certain that "example of" is the correct translation for the words *tp n*, with which most of these sums are introduced, although in the last line of R. 66 quoted above, p. 428, the meaning "example" seems more suitable than any other.

*The Rectangle.*

That the Egyptians had found the correct expression for the area of the rectangle amounts to no more than saying that they had the conception of square measure, for this in itself involves the ability to divide up a rectangular figure by means of two sets of parallel lines at right-angles the one set to the other into squares whose side is the unit of length and which themselves constitute the unit of area. An interesting application of the formula—if such it can be called—for the area of a rectangle is to be seen in M. 6, where we are given the area, 12 acres, of a rectangle and asked to find the length and breadth, supposing that the latter is  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the former. See above, p. 421.

*The Triangle.*

The writer believes that the Egyptians had found the correct formula, half the base multiplied by the vertical height, for the scalene triangle, though he doubts whether a rigid logical proof of this can be given from the material at our disposal. What they did was to multiply half the *tep-ro*, "mouth," by the *meryet*, whatever this may mean. About the *tep-ro* there is no possible doubt; the figures which accompany the problems on triangles are all, for some reason which no one has explained, drawn with one angle very small, and the "mouth" is the short side opposite to this. In other words, if we call the sharp point the apex, then the mouth is the base. What then is the *meryet*? *Meryet* is a common Egyptian word for the edge of a river or sea, more particularly an artificial edge, a quay. Some writers, laying stress on the meaning "edge," have argued that it must mean the side, *i.e.*, one of the long sides, and, in order to meet the obvious question Which of the two sides?, have further supposed that in the examples where *meryet* appears (R. 51, 52; M. 4) the triangle was regarded as being isosceles. This would make it necessary to believe that the Egyptians made the mistake of multiplying half the base by the slant instead of the vertical height, an error which might be palliated by the fact that in the examples actually illustrated, where the angle at the apex is small, the error would not be very significant. Some colour is lent to this belief by the fact that in Ptolemaic times and later the area of four-sided fields was obtained by the formula

$$\text{Area} = \frac{a + c}{2} \times \frac{b + d}{2},$$

where  $a$ ,  $b$ ,  $c$ , and  $d$  are the sides; when the field happened to be triangular  $d$  was made zero and the formula became  $\frac{a+c}{2} \cdot \frac{b}{2}$ , which gave  $\frac{1}{2}ab$  when  $a$  and  $c$  were equal, *i.e.*, where the triangle was isosceles. But this field formula was only an approximation for taxation purposes, as is shown by the neglect of small fractions in its application, and the existence of such a formula in late times does not prove that the Egyptian mathematician of 2000 B.C. did not possess a better one.

The supposition that by *meryet* the Egyptians meant the slant height of an equilateral triangle has not met with general acceptance. Struve, the recent editor of the Moscow papyrus, advances a modified version of it. He believes, as Eisenlohr did, that the triangles in the examples in which the *meryet* is mentioned are isosceles, but that the *meryet* is not one of the long sides but the vertical height, *i.e.*, the perpendicular from apex to base. This perpendicular, he remarks, would divide the triangle into two equal halves, between which it would form a "limit," thus explaining, according to him, the choice of the technical term *meryet*. This explanation, however, is not very convincing, for the word *meryet* does not mean "a limit" or "division" between two things, but the "edge" of one thing. It is just worth while remarking, too, that the illustrations in the papyri do not wholly bear out his supposition. Though the triangle in R. 53 is approximately isosceles, that in R. 51 is definitely right-angled.<sup>1</sup> The evidence of these roughly drawn figures is of very uncertain value, but it must either be rejected altogether or respected when it tells against, just as much as when it tells in favour of, a theory.

Let us now turn to the examples themselves and see whether a case cannot be made out for the belief that *meryet* is the vertical height, and that the triangle dealt with is meant to be scalene, and the solution consequently general.

(a) The word *meryet* is definitely connected with the edge of a river or sea, and its use for the side of a triangle regarded as an edge therefore seems out of place. If we take its very common meaning of quay, *i.e.*, a horizontal structure built (in Egypt at least) over a sloping bank of the river to make a landing-place, it is not hard to

<sup>1</sup> Struve's restoration of the damaged triangle in M. 4 as isosceles seems to me very doubtful.



see how it might have been applied by mathematicians to the perpendicular AD in Fig. 2. The Egyptians drew their triangles lying, as we should say, on their sides, with the apex to right or left and the *tep-ro*, or base, roughly horizontal at the opposite side. Gunn may even be right in supposing that the conception of a quay also included its vertical edge and that this also helped out the simile, AD being the quay, with an edge DC at right angles to it, and AC the river bank.

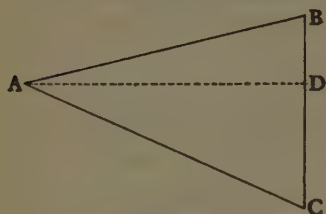


Fig. 2.

(b) In R. 51 we have to find the area of a triangle of base 4 and *meryet* 10, and we are told to take half of the 4 "to get its <sup>1</sup> rectangle" (or possibly "to make it <sup>1</sup> rectangular"). It is clear from this that the Egyptian regarded his triangle as

equal in area to a rectangle on half its base. It is of course conceivable that the other side of this rectangle was one of the long sides of the triangle, but in this case we must suppose the triangle isosceles to avoid a double solution, and we must also suppose that the method applied only to triangles with very sharp apexes, for in others the error would be too patent to escape notice. It seems much more natural, however, to accept the hint of a graphic solution offered by this reference to

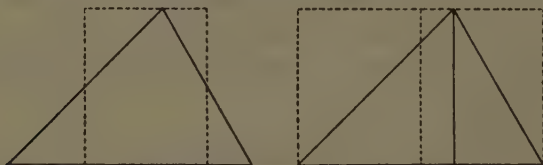


Fig. 3.

a rectangle on half the base, and to suppose that the Egyptians had rightly solved the scalene triangle by means of some such figure as Fig. 3. This belief is strengthened by R. 52, where a truncated triangle is proposed for solution. Here we halve the sum of the parallel sides "in order to get its rectangle" and multiply by the *meryet*. Surely the idea of halving the sum of the parallel sides can only have come from a graphic solution such as that shown in Fig. 4,

<sup>1</sup> The gender shows that the triangle is meant.

and with the truth so clearly in front of their eyes it is not possible to believe that the Egyptians were so silly as to multiply half this sum not by the correct vertical height of the figure but by one of the slant sides (assumed in this case to be equal). Surely *meryet* can here only mean the vertical height, and, if here, so also in the case of the triangle.

(c) Although the measurement of the *meryet* is actually written in R. 51 and 52 above the middle of one of the long sides (so also in M. 4) this is by no means an unnatural position for the length of the perpendicular from apex to base, which, in a triangle drawn in the Egyptian fashion with base vertical, is a horizontal measurement. But what is more, in R. 53 a triangle whose base is marked in as  $2\frac{1}{4}$  (reels-of-thread) and whose area of  $7\frac{7}{8}$  acres is written inside it (the usual place for an area) has the *meryet* of 7 (reels) written at the apex, a position totally unsuitable if the figure (7) gave the length of a side.



Fig. 4.

(d) The Egyptians found correctly the volume of a truncated pyramid, and evaluated the area of the circle with a very close measure of accuracy. We are within our rights when we ask ourselves whether these achievements are consistent with the belief that the area of a triangle was to be obtained by multiplying half its base by one of the other sides, or with an inability to find the area of any triangles save those which were either isosceles or right-angled. If we answer this question in the negative, as I believe we must, then *meryet* is the vertical height and the solution is general.

One other point in connection with the terminology of the triangle must be noticed here, though it does not help us to decide the vexed question of the meaning of *meryet*. In M. 7 and 17 we read of triangles whose "length" and "breadth" are to be found. Struve and Neugebauer both assume that these terms can only refer to right-angled triangles, and in support of this point to the illustration of M. 17 (M. 7 is not illustrated), a triangle which, though it is not exactly right-angled, may well have been intended to be, especially as it is very roughly drawn.

Now this view may be right. The avoidance of the usual terms *tep-ro* and *meryet* suggests that the triangle is here of a special kind ;

and since a right-angled triangle is half a rectangle the transference to it of the ordinary terms "length" and "breadth," used to define a rectangle, seems reasonable. On the other hand, we must just bear in mind the possibility that the triangles are not right-angled and that the "length" meant is the perpendicular length AD in Fig. 2, *i.e.* the *meryet*, or what we should call the perpendicular height. The data are not sufficient to decide this point, and the other conditions and the working out of the two problems would suit either hypothesis. On the whole the writer is inclined to the view that the triangles are not necessarily right-angled.

In both problems the area is given and the "length" and "breadth" are to be found; In M. 17 we are told that the breadth is  $\frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{15}$  of the length; in M. 7, however, we are merely given that the *ideb*, "bank," is  $2\frac{1}{2}$ , and the context shows that the "bank" is the technical term for the ratio length divided by breadth.<sup>1</sup>

### *The Circle.*

The best achievement of the Egyptians in two-dimensional geometry is undoubtedly their close approximation to the area of the circle. They squared eight-ninths of its diameter, giving  $\frac{256}{81}r^2$ , where  $r$  is the radius. Comparing this with our own  $\pi r^2$  we get for the Egyptian value of  $\pi$   $\frac{256}{81}$  or  $3\frac{1}{3}$ , a very close approximation to the  $3\frac{1}{2}$  which we find good enough for practical purposes. We have no idea how this result was obtained. The expression of the area as a square suggests a graphic solution.

### Geometry of three Dimensions.

Just as the geometry of two dimensions was stimulated by the need to measure land, so that of three developed out of the necessity of determining the quantity of corn in a bin or the amount of stone needed to build a wall or a pyramid. The correct formula for the determination of a parallelepiped follows as a matter of course from the ability to conceive and measure three-dimensional units. The length is multiplied by the breadth, and the result by the height (R. 44-46). That it was fully realised that this was equivalent to multiplying the area of the base by the height is clear from the fact that the volume of

<sup>1</sup>It would seem a just inference from M. 17 that the converse ratio, breadth divided by length, had no technical name.

a cylinder was got by squaring eight-ninths of the diameter of the circular base, thus determining its area, and multiplying by the height (R. 41-43).

Pyramids were an object of considerable interest, and a number of problems (R. 56-59) deal with their slope as determined by their vertical height and the length of a side of the square base. An example will make this clear (R. 56) :

"Example of reckoning out a pyramid 360 in length of side and 250 in its vertical height. Let me know its batter.<sup>1</sup>

"You are to take half of 360 ; result 180.

"You are to operate on 250 to find 180.

Result,  $\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{5} + \frac{1}{50}$  of a cubit.<sup>2</sup>

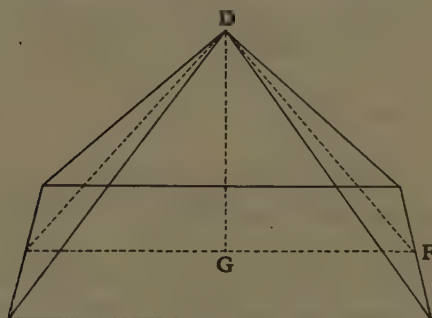


Fig. 5.

"A cubit being 7 handbreaths, you are to multiply by 7 :

$$\begin{array}{rcl}
 1 & 7 & \\
 \frac{1}{2} & 3\frac{1}{2} & \\
 \frac{1}{5} & 1\frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{15} & \\
 \frac{1}{50} & \frac{1}{10} + \frac{1}{25} &
 \end{array}$$

Its batter is  $5\frac{1}{25}$  handbreadths."

Fig. 5 shows what is done in the opening lines. The angle of slope GFD is determined by what we now call its cotangent, namely  $\frac{GF}{GD}$ , which in this case is  $\frac{180}{250}$ . This ratio is reduced to a fraction of

<sup>1</sup> By batter is meant the slope of the four sides, not, of course, that of the four edges in which the pairs of sides meet.

<sup>2</sup> The working has been omitted by the Egyptian scribe. The words "of a cubit" are, strictly speaking, illogical, but the practical reason for their introduction soon becomes evident. See below.

correct form, namely  $\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{5} + \frac{1}{50}$ . But this abstract ratio is of no use to the mason who has to shape the stones for the outer casing of the pyramid, for whom the calculation is clearly intended; and so it is treated as a fraction of a cubit and reduced to handbreadths, there being 7 handbreadths in a cubit.<sup>1</sup> The result is  $5\frac{1}{5}$  handbreadths, and all the mason has to do is to take his squared stone (Fig. 6), measure a cubit OP vertically on one of its edges, then  $5\frac{1}{5}$  handbreadths horizontally, and draw a line<sup>2</sup> from the point R thus found to the bottom corner O from which he started.



Fig. 6.

Egyptian solid geometry reaches its highest point in problem M. 14, in which the volume of a truncated pyramid, *i.e.* a pyramid with its top cut off, is correctly found. The working shown corresponds to the formula

$$V = \frac{h}{3}(a^2 + ab + b^2),$$

where  $a$  and  $b$  are the sides of the squares which bound the figure above and below, and  $h$  is its vertical height. The word actually used for height is a *ἄπαξ λεγόμενον*, but there is no good reason for supposing that the slant height and not the vertical height was intended. Seeing that the slope of the Egyptian pyramids lies for the most part between  $43^\circ$  and  $55^\circ$ , the error caused by the use in this formula of slant height instead of vertical would be so enormous that it could never have escaped detection in a country one of whose main preoccupations must at all times have been the building of the reigning king's pyramid and tomb. Moreover, it is to credit the Egyptians with alternately too much and too little mathematical sense to suppose that the men who evolved the difficult factor  $\frac{1}{3}(a^2 + ab + b^2)$  were then foolish enough to multiply it by the slant height.

Several attempts have been made to show how the Egyptians obtained this formula. Some suggest that it was found by cutting the truncated pyramid up into smaller and simpler solids,<sup>3</sup> others that the

<sup>1</sup> A cubit or forearm is about 20·6 inches, and a handbreadth, which is a seventh of this, contains four fingerbreadths, being measured across the fingers and so neglecting the thumb.

<sup>2</sup> Such lines, drawn usually in red, are frequently found on the outer stones of pyramids and other sloped constructions.

<sup>3</sup> GUNN-PEET, in *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, xv, pp. 167-185.



element  $\frac{1}{3}(a^2 + ab + b^2)$  is an "average" of three areas,<sup>1</sup> and yet others that the solid was treated as the difference between the original pyramid and the smaller one removed from its top.<sup>2</sup> However this may be, the formula remains, a testimony to Egyptian genius of 2000 B.C. and earlier.

In the domain of solid geometry one more problem calls for notice. It is No. 10 of the Moscow papyrus. Struve in his publication of the papyrus maintains that this problem determines the area of the curved surface of a hemisphere—correctly, if the Egyptian value of  $\frac{256}{81}$  for  $\pi$  be accepted. If this interpretation of the problem were right our estimation of Egyptian mathematics would be much enhanced, for the very idea of the area of a curved surface other than one which, like that of the cylinder, can be transferred by rolling or unfolding to a plane surface, is a highly advanced mathematical conception. Unfortunately, however, as I have tried to show elsewhere,<sup>3</sup> Struve's translation and interpretation of the problem are inadmissible. Grammatical considerations make it quite clear that the scribe has omitted in copying a word and a figure which gave a second dimension, and this and other reasons make it impossible to maintain the hypothesis of a hemisphere.

#### General Character of Egyptian Mathematics.

In conclusion I should like to deal with one or two general considerations regarding Egyptian mathematics. When in 1926 I published the Rhind papyrus I wrote "The outstanding feature of Egyptian mathematics is its intensely practical character." This general statement I see no reason to modify; the full publication of the Moscow papyrus merely serves to bear it out. At the same time I did perhaps go too far in saying that in the problems of Rhind "everything is expressed in concrete terms,"<sup>4</sup> for this is not true of problems such as R. 24-34, which deal with abstract numbers, and

<sup>1</sup> VOGEL, in *op. cit.*, xvi, pp. 242-249.

<sup>2</sup> THOMAS, in *op. cit.*, xvii, pp. 50-52.

<sup>3</sup> *Journ. of Eg. Arch.*, xvii, pp. 100-104. See too Neugebauer, *Die Geometrie der ägyptischen mathematischen Texte in Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Mathematik*, Abteilung B, Nr. 20 (1931).

<sup>4</sup> My contention that the use of the concrete word 'h', "heap," for "quantity" is evidence for the concrete character of the system is, as several writers have pointed out, disproved by the fact that the word is here given the abstract determinative.

which explicitly set out to find a "quantity," not a number of men or a number of loaves. The realisation, too, that the examples in the papyrus are in themselves to be regarded rather as formulæ where simple numbers take the place of our  $x$  and  $y$  than as isolated sums<sup>1</sup> forces us to take a more favourable view of the nature of Egyptian mathematics. There are, moreover, problems which, though stated in concrete terms, contain figures so fantastic or envisage cases so improbable that they could never arise in ordinary practical life. Thus the division of 100 loaves into five lots in arithmetical progression, such that one-seventh of the three first is equal to the two last, can hardly be called a practical problem. In the same way the summing of a geometric series, though it may serve a practical end in modern mathematics, certainly served none in Egyptian. Examples of this kind do suggest that, while mainly occupied with practical problems, the Egyptians occasionally allowed themselves to observe and even to record a result or a method which had no obvious and direct application to the concrete facts of life. But there is no sign that such things were regarded as more than idle curiosities.<sup>2</sup>

There is a further question, which has by several writers been curiously confused with the last, but which in reality is totally distinct from it. Was Egyptian mathematics "scientific" in the sense that modern mathematics is? Among those who have written on this question the majority have declared themselves in favour of its scientific nature.<sup>3</sup> The arguments in favour of this view are summed up very shortly by Vogel in a passage which may be quoted:—

"In concluding I must yet again draw attention to one point, namely to the gradual advance of scientific knowledge, which is not merely evidenced by the already existing conception of abstract number, by numerous problems of fanciful nature involving figures

<sup>1</sup> See GUNN-PEET, *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, xv., pp. 184-185.

<sup>2</sup> It is significant that of the two examples here quoted the first is "solved" by a method which is completely fraudulent and shows that the problem was set from the answer, while the second is nothing more than a piece of observation from a multiplication table (see above, pp. 425-6).

<sup>3</sup> See KURT VOGEL, *Die Grundlagen der ägyptischen Arithmetik*, pp. 52-53, 183-184; WIELEITNER, *War die Wissenschaft der alten Ägypter nur praktisch?* in *Isis*, ix, pp. 21 ff.; ABEL REY, *La Science orientale avant les Grecs*, pp. 251 ff., 281 ff.; O. GILLAIN, *La science égyptienne, L'Arithmétique au Moyen Empire*, pp. 308-311.

which could never occur in practice, by the grouping of the single examples according to the identity of their content and the division of the papyrus itself into groups which hang together, or by the gradual evolution of rules and laws, but which is above all incontrovertibly shown by the desire for a verification of the result, for a test, for a proof of the answer."

Now how much does all this evidence prove? That the conception of abstract number existed is merely equivalent to saying that the Egyptians had passed beyond a certain primitive stage of thought where practically no mathematics is possible except such elementary operations as that of counting 8 sheep and 5 sheep and observing that together they count 13 sheep; to possess the concept of abstract number is an *a priori* condition of a mathematical system, not a proof of its scientific nature.

That problems occur which could not occur in practice might be urged as evidence for a certain non-practical speculative interest in mathematics, as we saw above, but nothing more. That sums of the same kind are grouped together proves nothing more than the existence of some elementary idea<sup>1</sup> of orderly arrangement.

In the papyri themselves there is little evidence of the actual evolution of rules and laws. There are only two cases where a general formula is explicitly stated to be such (R. 61*b* and R. 66); and, even if the sums themselves are intended to serve as formulæ (see above, p. 429), the fact that the Egyptians had evolved no better means of stating a formula than that of giving three or four examples of its use is hardly a tribute to the scientific nature of their mathematics.

And lastly, the desire for a proof of the result does not in itself constitute scientific method in the modern sense. Obviously a system of mathematics which merely guessed its results would be no system but a chaos; it would be in conflict with experience at every hour of the day. It must defend itself against this by some kind of appeal to

<sup>1</sup> The disgraceful chaos of the Moscow papyrus shows that this, elementary as it seems, was not universal. Let us hope that a mere scribe rather than a mathematician was to blame. The arrangement of Rhind itself is logically far from perfect, and, while we may be prepared to find excuses for this in the supposition that the collection was culled, somewhat at random, from other mathematical treatises, we cannot submit to its being held up as a model of consistent and logical arrangement.

logic. This may take the form of a proof *a posteriori*, *i.e.*, a formal testing of the result, showing that it does fulfil the conditions of the problem ; or it may take the form of a demonstration *a priori*, beginning with the data and proceeding to the result which will satisfy them. The former, which is the Egyptian method, may be logically satisfactory in any particular case, or even in any group of similar cases. But this method can never constitute a scientific system in the strict sense. The conditions of such a system are "that every statement . . . shall be open to common criticism and shall be protected against it from the outset by a system of demonstrations." Such is Neugebauer's definition,<sup>1</sup> and he adds "The true mark of scientific method lies, to my mind, in the striving after an 'objective' demonstration of the statements made, *i.e.*, a proof independent of the subject." By such methods alone is it possible to build up a system of mathematics which forms a cogent, organic, and interconnected whole, and which can inspire full confidence in its users. Of this attitude of mind, with its demand for demonstration, there is no sign in Egyptian mathematics. The proofs given are the merest checkings of the figures and give no insight into the mathematical inwardness of the problems. Some of them are unsound in principle, and only "work" in the particular case owing to favourable circumstances. No desire is shown to obtain consistency in the proofs applied to similar cases. There is no attempt made to regularise the method of common denominator used in adding fractions. The geometrical problems are not proved at all. The table of the resolutions of 2-fractions into aliquot parts, with its acceptance of empirical results and its lack of any desire to achieve homogeneity or to view the problem as a single whole, is in itself a monument to the lack of the scientific attitude of mind in the Egyptians.<sup>2</sup>

Are we then to damn Egyptian mathematics once and for all by attaching to it the epithet "unscientific" because it does not conform to our modern conception of scientific method ? Not for a moment. The word unscientific conveys a reproach, and those who have studied what Egypt did for mathematics before 2000 B.C. are moved

<sup>1</sup> *Die Grundlagen der äg. Arithmetik*, p. 93. In what follows I am under deep obligations to Neugebauer.

<sup>2</sup> To suppose, as some seem to do, that the papyri which have survived are merely the products of stupid schoolboys, and that there existed really scientific treatises on mathematics, is surely to misunderstand completely the nature of the evidence.

to admiration rather than criticism. The true escape from the dilemma which seems to impend over us here has been pointed out by Neugebauer. He asks whether the question How far was Egyptian mathematics scientific or unscientific ? is legitimate. "No attempt is made," he writes, "to answer the very necessary preliminary question whether the application of our intellectual categories to these early civilisations has any meaning, but we proceed at once to enquire in exactly what percentage (however small it may be) they are to be found in those times. The possibility that the intellectual structure of these civilisations was of a fundamentally different order is not taken into consideration." Heinrich Schäfer has shown that in the realm of art it is meaningless to apply our categories to Egyptian work and to say that the artist had no perspective or that his perspective was wrong. His whole point of view was different, and the result was different in consequence. So, too, in the case of mathematics it may be doubted whether it is legitimate to ask to exactly what extent the Egyptian method was scientific in the modern sense. Because the Egyptian achieved results which are still acceptable to us we must not assume that he did so, or ought to have done so, by a mental attitude or by methods identical with ours. The subject matter was, it is true, the same. Two and two already made four in Ancient Egypt, and the fallacy of Undistributed Middle was as much a fallacy then as it is now. When the Egyptian was logical he could only be logical in the same way as ourselves. But we must not exclude the possibility that there is much in his mathematics, as in his thought generally, which was not illogical but un-logical ; and when we find a piece of logically sound arithmetic employed in what seems to us an un-logical cause we must not be shocked. Still less must we blame.

Here, however, we are on the borders of philosophy, and our concern is primarily with mathematics. Let it suffice to say in conclusion that the Egyptians devised a workable and practical system of notation, performed with ease simple and even complicated arithmetical operations, explored with success the field of simple geometry in two and three dimensions, and devised methods of dealing with most of the mathematical problems of everyday life. That they did not reach the conception of scientific mathematics and its dependence on cogent *a priori* demonstration is merely another instance of the vast debt which the world owes to the Greeks.



SOME UNPUBLISHED CORRESPONDENCE OF THE  
REV. RICHARD BAXTER AND THE REV. JOHN  
ELIOT, "THE APOSTLE TO THE AMERICAN  
INDIANS," 1656-1682.

EDITED BY F. J. POWICKE, M.A., PH.D., D.D.

(Continued from p. 176 of the January issue.)

X. 22 September, 1668.<sup>1</sup>

MY DEARE AND REVERENDE BROTHER,

I gladly and thankfully rec(eiv)ed yo<sup>rs</sup> of the 15<sup>th</sup> of the 4<sup>th</sup> month conteining yo<sup>r</sup> explication of former passages and yo<sup>r</sup> hearty breathings after Christian unity and peace. If we had here had the same spirit, we had bin healed long agoe. I did not give you my bold animadversions on yo<sup>r</sup> proposalls as necessary to our concord, as if we could not live in brotherly communion on yo<sup>r</sup> termes. But only as a ventilating or enquiry after truth for our edification. And if I thought you would suppose y<sup>t</sup> I took all that I plead for to you, as necessary to our communion, I should only in a word expresse my gladnes for yo<sup>r</sup> concessions, and trouble you with no more. It is about 16 yeares since I proposed much more com-  
plyant termes than yo<sup>rs</sup> are, to some chiefe bretheren of the congregational way as a temperament for concord, and could not prevaile. Then such a model as yo<sup>rs</sup> might have bin practised by us, but now all y<sup>t</sup> here can be done, if we were as ready to close as is desireable, is but to approve of it to be practised with you, or where there is leave or possibility: for no such assemblies or busynes is here to be attempted. Twenty yeares long we prayed peace and unity, but lived as a peace hating generation, and builded the Church of Christ by obstinate dividing it and abhorring y<sup>e</sup> attempts of reconcilers, and proved our *spirituality* by being one for Paul and another for Apollos,

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Williams, Baxter's Letters, vol. iii. 133<sup>a</sup>.

and made it our chief work to strive who should be uppermost, pretending y<sup>t</sup> it was not for ourselves but for the advantage of setting up the Kingdome of Christ (by scorning and pulling downe our brethren better then ourselves). And, w<sup>t</sup> is saddest, after the most terrible Judgm<sup>ts</sup> we are yet puffed up, and glory in our righteousnes, because of the crimes of others—and our impenitency seemeth y<sup>e</sup> prognostick of the lengthening of our distresse.

1. As to our first point of difference, you seem to agree, by misunderstanding my sense of the word 'private members'—w<sup>ch</sup> I used *not* to signifie a minor part, as you seem to take it, but any or all of y<sup>e</sup> people, or *vulgus*, of a politicall Church; as contradistinct from the pastors or teachers in office. And I think y<sup>t</sup> as the Institution, Mat. 28. 19, 20 (or Commission) maketh it the first part of the ministeriall work, to *Disciple* and baptize, and the 2<sup>nd</sup> part to edifie the Churches, so is the office still to be understood by us: and y<sup>t</sup> such an office as Silas, Silvanus, Apollo, Epaphroditus, Barnabas and multitudes more then had (call it by what name you please), is to continue to the end of the world. And the Apostles calling them proveth no more either y<sup>e</sup> cessation of their office, or that *private men* (though the major vote of a politicall Church) (call them Lay-men if you had rather) are now those y<sup>t</sup> must call or send them, than y<sup>t</sup> Apostles preaching or governing y<sup>e</sup> Church doth prove y<sup>t</sup> preaching and Church government is fallne also now into the hands of the Laity.

The Apostles left acts of office to succeeding officers. Ordination and mission of such generall ministers to Disciple and Baptize, was then an act of office, and, therefore, is now only in the hand of officers. No Scripture giveth precept or example for private (i.e. lay) men's making, comissioning, ordaining, yea or sending, yea or choosing ministers to disciple the world and to baptize. No antiquitie knew it. No reason speaketh for it. Which way or on what account should three or four, or a dozen, or more private persons (who will choose themselves a pastor and so become a Church) have authoritie to make generall ministers to the world any more than to other Churches?

Six ignorant persons who choose an illiterate man for their pastor are truly a politicall Church. If such a Church hath power to make unfixed ministers, they may send forth the unworthy, and who shall hinder them? But where is *their title* to be found for such authority?

And why should I think it necessary now, y<sup>t</sup> only the *pastors of particular churches*, and such as are sent by y<sup>e</sup> major vote, or any lay members of such a Church must Disciple y<sup>e</sup> nations and baptize them, when it was *another sort* of persons of another way of mission, who did it in the Apostles dayes ?

The Apostles *extraordinary* works cease with them, but y<sup>e</sup> *ordinary* continue—though not in Apostles yet in such as succeed them in the ordinary parts of their office. And if we leave our first patterns in *one point* causelessly, we may by the same reason leave them *in all*. I adde only, y<sup>t</sup> where you call a particular Church *the Spouse of Christ*, I remember no warrant for y<sup>t</sup> name, any more then to call London, Bristoll, or any one citie y<sup>e</sup> *kingdome*. A member is not the body : y<sup>e</sup> *Universall Church* is *Christs Spouse*. Christ hath but *one Spouse* or *body*. The anti-disciplinarians undervalue p(ar)ticular church order, and some do so much *overvalue* such societies as to give them the dignities of the *body of Christ* and give to each corporation the priviledges of the *Kingdome*. They are bodies compounded of parts heterogeneousall. The *ruled* part have not the power prop(er) to the *officers* and *guides* ; and those y<sup>t</sup> were ordained only to be *Gospell ministers indefinitely*, and never called to a *particular Church* have as much power to *ordaine such others* as *Church pastors* have.

2. As to y<sup>e</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup>, we being agreed y<sup>t</sup> *officers* may meet of themselves for the work of *officers*, and the *peoples delegates* may meet either *w<sup>th</sup> ye officers* or *by themselves* for consent and concord according to their proper duty, I concluded as you, our difference here is none.

3. As to the 3<sup>d</sup> point, I am very glad y<sup>t</sup> you have here so much narrowed the difference w<sup>ch</sup> I apprehended by y<sup>r</sup> last ; and as glad y<sup>t</sup> you expresse so heartily y<sup>t</sup> peaceable principle of *mutuall forbearance* in such a difference as remaineth. I have only this to animadvert, (1) As *heart-covenanting* or *consent* doth make us members of the Church *invisible*, so (*not* our after-profession, but) *Baptisme itselfe*, w<sup>ch</sup> is our *visible-covenanting*, doth make us visible Christians, or members of the Church as *visible*.

(2) That the universall society of the baptized, or visible Church, headed by Christ, is a politicall Church. He is the head of the externall and internall government.

(3) That y<sup>e</sup> *particular Churches* could have no *politie*, if the universall Church had none. As no Bayliffe or Mayor of Corporation could have power, if the *Kingdom* had not its *politie universall*. And y<sup>e</sup> p(ar)ticular power and *politie* is derived from y<sup>e</sup> universall (even from Christ who is King of y<sup>e</sup> universall Church but never called King of a p(ar)ticular Church, though he is King *over* it : as y<sup>e</sup> King is not y<sup>e</sup> Mayor of a city nor p(ro)perly called King of London, but King of England.

(4) That Baptisme as such is our visible covenant of Christianity only, distinct from a p(ar)ticular Church-making covenant w<sup>ch</sup> is but our consent to y<sup>t</sup> p(ar)ticular church-relation and duty. And, therefore, Baptisme as Baptisme is no entrance into a p(ar)ticular Church but into the universall only.

(5) But the covenant of Baptisme may be conjunctly made w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> particular cov(ena)nt ; and they may go together, and they may be separated.

(6) Parents who are members of a particular Church should (ordinarily) enter their children into both universall and particular expressly, as they are themselves.

(7) If they express not this it is (ordinarily) to be supposed as implied, as it is w<sup>th</sup> the adult, where communion only is the expression of their consent to p(ar)ticular Ch(urch) membership.

(8) He y<sup>t</sup> is entered into both at once is, in order of nature, first made a member of the visible universall Church and *in secundo instanti* a member of y<sup>e</sup> p(ar)ticular Church. Now is it a thing possible in *natura rei* to be a member of a *particular* Church (e.g. one of y<sup>or</sup> flock) in order of nature before he is a member of the *universall* Church, y<sup>t</sup> is, of *Christ* as the head of professors and believers ?

(9) As all are in order of nature first members of the universall Church, so the common practise of the Apostles and first preachers, to unbelievers in scripture times, was to baptize them into the *universall Church*, even *in time* before they settled them in p(ar)ticular *politie*, y<sup>t</sup> is, before they settled fixed elders over them.

(10) And most, or allmost, all y<sup>t</sup> then did this work were such as were no fixed elders themselves, but indefinite ministers. The Learnedest of y<sup>e</sup> congregationall brethren here, do grant me all this (though some question whether the last instance should be now continued, unless by mission from particular Churches).

4. To the fourth you expresse y<sup>or</sup> agreem(en)t.

And I must againe intreat you to interpret none of my free expressions of my opinion on the rest as a stop to concord ; but as an inquiry after edifying truth. For I never attempted a reconciliation w<sup>th</sup> those who *further* differ, upon any supposition of altering their judgm(en)t, but of concord on the points in w<sup>ch</sup> we are agreed. If with you—where it is possible—you will begin, and reduce yo<sup>r</sup> conciliatory principles into publike practise, it may tend much to the union of minds here w<sup>th</sup> us, and of practise—if ever our superiors allow us opportunity. The restraint of other meetings occasioneth y<sup>e</sup> private assemblies in England to be now ordered just like the Congregationall way, or rather as the old Separatists, in many places. But if they were as much at liberty as formerly, they are as ready to fall together by the eares. The Lord preserve and bless you in his great work.

I rest yo<sup>r</sup> unworthy brother and a great honorer of (your) labors  
 RI. BAXTER 1668, 7<sup>th</sup>, 22.

I pray tell me how farre y<sup>t</sup> Indian language reacheth into w<sup>ch</sup> you have translated the Bible and how numerous their languages there are ; and what hopes of further success are w(i)thin your present prospect.

*Endorsed.*—‘To my Reverend and very much honored brother Mr  
 John Eliot Pastor of the Church at Roxbury in New England.’

### XI. Early Spring, 1669 ?<sup>1</sup>

MOST DEARE AND REVEREND BROTHER,

I thanke you for your Communication of your last papers also to me which shew both your love of peace and your wise moderation about y<sup>e</sup> meanes of it. I shall only give you these few notes about the matter of your objectors exceptions.

About his first objection let me tell you that their talke of *one* or *two* in a parish fit for Church-communion doth but signify that they go not upon y<sup>e</sup> Apostolicall antient termes, but having put down the true and antient test (which is the consent to the baptismall Covenant, and their particular Church-relation ; or, y<sup>e</sup> profession of the essentialls of Christianity—not confuted or disproved, and their subjection to their particular pastors) they have indeed no

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Williams, Baxter's Letters, vol. iv. 6<sup>a</sup>.



certain list at all to set up instead of it, but vary as y<sup>e</sup> pastors opinions or charity vary !

And the many causes of their censoriousnesse is their *ignorance* of the people. To deale freely with you, I am not acquainted with any considerable number either of the Episcopall or Congregationall pastors that ever undertooke the laborious way of conferring with all the parishioners, house by house and man by man, but (to passe the former) the later sort, have taken it for granted at a venture that all the people are bad which are not notified to them by some conspicuous profession above the rest, and, having gathered Churches of these, neglected almost all save publick preaching to the rest (and now they preach to few but their owne Churches). Only, if they met a man occasionally, perhaps by a question or too, they tooke advantage to detect his ignorance (and) to confirme them in their general censoriousnesse. But we had lately in England (and yet have through Gods mercy, though turned) a sort of ministers who were for the Waldensian Governm<sup>t</sup> (described by Lasilius and Commenius) mixt of Episcop. Presb. and Independ<sup>y</sup> and set upon union, and addicted to no party. These, by agreement, either get all their people to come to them or went to those that could or would not, from house to house. In my parish were about 4000 soules, and neere twenty miles circuit of ground. We finisht it in a yeare, setting apart two dayes a weeke (two or three of us) on purpose. We dealt not w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>m</sup> captiously to disgrace them, but tenderly and patiently to instruct them in all the principles first, and then set all home by earnest conviction and exhortation. By this meanes there were very few in all the parish whose measures of knowledge and affection and party and lives we had not a competent acquaintance with. And wee found abundance, that were not noted for any extraordinary profession nor ever came to private meetings, to be solid godly people. Some had superiors who forbad them, and some had callings w<sup>ch</sup> hindered them, and some had an invincible bashfulnesse, etc. And we found some noted Professors, constant at our private meetings, who were utterly ignorant of the essentialls of Christianity (about the person and office of Christ). And abundance that we found ignorant, seemed in a little time, instructed and resolved for a holy life. And this course was just set up and beginning to spread all over England (8 or 9 countries (counties) had begun by agreement to attempt it) at 1659 when confusion buried all, etc.

If our brethren had as well tryed and knowne the people, they would not talke thus of one or two in a parish. I hope through God's mercy in the parish that I lived in, many are godly (in the judgment of such as our censorious brethren themselves) for one that is un-godly, there being for the most part, but a house in the side of a street that pray not in their families, and since I came from them, even in these times, few in the Towne that professe not the way of strictnesse and few indeed that oppose it. I have since lived many yeares where I now am, in a country village, where Dr. Featley was Pastor and after him Mr. Nye<sup>1</sup> and another very worthy person, both of the Congregationall way. I can heare but of one person now living in this Parish (and one other now turned Quaker) that ever was by either of the last admitted to the sacrament. Yet allmost the whole Towne and parish come now (when it is so dangerous) to my house to heare (at the Church doors). (But I confesse I draw them not from the publick assemblies, which is now the mode and mark of sincerity.) And (though I goe not to them as I did with my owne charge yet) I meet occasionally with a very considerable number of them that I hope will be in heaven. And of all the whole Towne and Parish I heare of no considerable number that speake ag't us. And those few that do, because their judgm<sup>ts</sup> are ag't private preaching. Some of them, I verily believe, are as seriously religious and mortified persons (in the common-prayer-book way of worship) as most of the Congregationall Church-members y<sup>t</sup> I know. And I heare not of one (though the Towne is full of Innes and Alehouses) that ever speaks ag<sup>t</sup> Godlinesse or strictnesse itselfe. I tell you all this to confirme you in the Charity which you heere expresse to the Parish Churches, and by my experience to assure you that it is much long of ourselves that they are no better. It is an easy (lazy) way to take 4 or 5 strict Professours for our charge, and to force all the rest into disaffection by looking at them a farre off, and calling them all un-godly. There are more sparkes of penitence and holy desires in many that make lesse ostentation than they, that try not, think. And the separating sort of Professours have done such things in England as were never done in the world since Munster tragedy, that I have

<sup>1</sup> Philip Nye was Rector of Acton from 1643 to 1654 and was succeeded by Thomas Elford.

heard of, and have laid us all where we are at this day. And I assure you further, that in 1658 and 1659 when y<sup>e</sup> question was at y<sup>e</sup> highest—whether the parish Churches should be reformed or taken *as null*, y<sup>e</sup> experience of our sudden successe in reforming some of them (by the meanes aforesaid) had this effect—

*Endorsed*—‘To my Reverend Brother Mr John Eliot Pastor of the Church at Roxbury New England.’

XII. June, 1669.<sup>1</sup>

Roxbury, the 20<sup>th</sup> of the 4th. 69.

REVEREND AND DEARELY BELOVED IN CHRIST JESUS,

I received this spring both your last—the one of September, the oth<sup>r</sup> of Jan. 68—in both w<sup>ch</sup> the sweet breath of love, and candour of Christian affection doe so come home to my heart y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> (they) compel me to indeavour, according to my pore wite, to returne unto you my thankfull acceptation of your love. I did readily accept w<sup>t</sup> you say, y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>t</sup> passeth betweene us is only a ventilation of some poynts tending to mutual edification—not as if these things were barrs to hinder brotherly or ecclesiastical com̄union betwixt such as may be diversly minded in the matters we treat about. I would not be burdensome to you, but, if it may be an acceptable diversion to you sometimes to reade my pore lines and to make some answee to me, I find it very edifying and p(ro)fitable to me, w<sup>ch</sup> doth the more stimulate me to this boldnesse once more.

1. About the influence of the Fraternity unto the call or mission of a man to preach unto and baptize the nations, you say I consent by misunderstanding your sense of the word ‘private members’ w<sup>ch</sup> (you say) ‘I used not to sig(nify) a minor p(ar)t but any, or all, of the people, or vulgus, of a political Church, as contradistinct fro(m) the Pastor and Teacher in office.’ A(nswer). The fraternity acting contradistinct fro(m) y<sup>e</sup> officers are powerlesse. Alasse ! w<sup>t</sup> can the bulk of the body doe w<sup>th</sup>out its organick pts. But if your meaning be y<sup>t</sup> there should not be a concurrence and consent of the Fraternity, the vulgus of the Church, in an ecclesiastical mission of such a man, to y<sup>t</sup> I cannot consent, because the Script(ure) seemeth to me to hold

forth the concurrence and consent of the whole Church in the election of such officers as we are now speaking off. [Instances the

Acts i, 15, 16, 23—the case of Matthias and

„ xiii, 1, 2, 3—the case of Paul and Barnabas.

Action in such cases without the consent and concurrence would be a kind of usurpation not practised in Apostolic times.]

2. Again, you say y<sup>t</sup> such an office as Silas, Silvanus etc. had, is to continue to the end of the world ; and as the Apostles y<sup>n</sup> called y<sup>m</sup>, so Church officers, and y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>th</sup>out the concurrence of the people, must call y<sup>m</sup> now. To y<sup>t</sup> purpose you speak.

A(nswer) (1) By the above named texts we see y<sup>t</sup> the Apostles (as (th)ey had opportunity) tooke in the concurrence of the Fraternity in such elections ; and much more we should doe so, in prudence and humility, though it is not of necessity.

(2) I yet see not but a Council of Churches may, w<sup>th</sup> great authority from Christ and acceptance to all the saints, give such a call and mission. Only, the party so called and sent ought to take the p(ub)lic consent and blessing of y<sup>t</sup> Church w(he)reoff he is a member. Why should such divine relations have the least violence done unto y<sup>m</sup> ? The greater concurrence of the saints concerned, the stronger breath of prayer is raised in all the Churches. The Jesuits' missions by their Provincials into the East and West'r'n worlds and into all Protestant nations, is a notable means of upholding AntiX<sup>t</sup> (Antichrist). The man of sin siteth in the Temple of God, y<sup>e</sup> p(ri)est an ordinance of God ; and it p(ro)ves a vigorous way of p(ro)moting their superstition and darknesse. But w<sup>n</sup> the Churches and Councils of Churches are awakened to their duty, and shall vigorously undertake y<sup>t</sup> service of Christ, it will shine downe all their Jesuitical abuses into the bottomlesse pit from w<sup>ch</sup> they ascended. The man of sin shall be destroyed by the brightnesse of Christ his coming.

4. Ag(ain) you further say, on w<sup>t</sup> account should 3 or 4 or a dozen or more private Xtians (who will choose to y<sup>m</sup>selves a Pastor and so become a Church) have authority to make general ministers to the world, any more than to other Churches ? Six ignorant p(er)sons who choose an illiterate man for y<sup>r</sup> P(as)tor are truely a political Church. If such a Church have pow(e)r to make unfixed ministers, they may send forth the unworthy, and who shall hinder y<sup>m</sup> ?

A(nswer). A company of young and carnal presbyters may doe

the same ; but, sir, you doe but *disputandi gratia* say (that) they you mention are *truely* a political church. I doe not yet believe they are a church. They are an abuse of the ordinance and institution of Christ. Yet *that* I say under caution : for in a pagan or popish country six or fewer godly p(er)sons walking in the truth will be favorably accepted of God and the saints. The production of a Church, the building of a visible political Temple for Christ, is a more sollemne work y<sup>n</sup> so. Upon that occasion I will briefly relate unto you, the late history of o(u)r Anabaptists. Thom(as) Gold, a farmer, a member of the Church of Charlestown was excoṁmunicated out of y<sup>t</sup> church for moral evils and not for his opinion. Fornam, a Joyner, a member of the 2<sup>d</sup> Church in Boston was excoṁmunicated out of y<sup>t</sup> Church for moral misdemeanours, and not for his opinion. These p(er)sons, w<sup>th</sup> a few more, no members of any Xchurch (Christian Church) among us, gather y<sup>m</sup>|selves into (as ēy call it) a Church, make Tho(mas) Gold pastor, he administreth the Lord's Supp(er), and, it is likely, baptizeth some of y<sup>m</sup>. I doubt whether these are truely a political Church, but a corruption and p(ro)-phanation of the ordinances and institutions of Christ. These need stronger phisik to heale y<sup>m</sup>, and to prevent the putrefaction of others. If the mag(istrate) be *custos utriusque tabulae*, how can his conscience indure to see the name and ordinances of Christ to be so p(ro)phaned ?

Touching their opin(ion) of Antipœdobapt(ism), the Mag(istrate) did not medle w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>m</sup> by power, only sometimes laboured by Scrip-t(ure) to convince y<sup>m</sup>, and onc(e) appoynted a pub(lic) disputation by some ministers, to labour to convince y<sup>m</sup>. I was p(re)sent at it, an heerer only, and, in my best discerning, they were indeed vociferous, bold, and p(er)emptory, but in Scripture and in reason exceeding weak, and in spirit exceedingly beneath the spirit of Jesus Christ. The spirit y<sup>t</sup> acted y<sup>m</sup> had not the savor of Christ in it, to my tast(e). These men were by civile authority forbidden to p(ro)phane the holy institutions of Christ, and, w<sup>n</sup> ēy were insolent and disobedient, after much patience and not w(ith)out regard of the forms and order of o<sup>r</sup> Covenant, by their continuance, they were censured either to dep(ar)t o<sup>r</sup> Jurisdiction, or be imp(r)i)soned. They chose the 2<sup>d</sup>. Some men glory in their shame. But they have their liberty now, but not to sin. After the above mentioned dispute, M<sup>r</sup> Mitchel,<sup>1</sup> who chiefly did

<sup>1</sup> One of the most brilliant leaders of the second generation of U.E. ministers (1624-1668).



mannage it, dyed—w<sup>ch</sup> proved an awfull hardening to y<sup>m</sup> and humbling to us all. After him my deare son dyed, but he had not the least finger in y<sup>t</sup> matter, nor doe I know y<sup>t</sup> it was any hardening unto y<sup>m</sup>. But so much of y<sup>t</sup>.

5. Again, you say 'I ad only, y<sup>t</sup> where you call a particular Church the spouse of Christ, I remember no warrant for y<sup>t</sup> name.'

A(nswer), 2 Cor. ii. 1, 2. The Church covenant w<sup>ch</sup> is the forme of a p(ar)ticular Church, is a marriag(e) covenant. Ho. ii. 19.

You further ad—'The antidisciplinarians undervalue p(ar)ticular Church order; and some doe so much overvalue such societys as to give y<sup>m</sup> the dignitys of the body of Christ, and to each Corporation the priveledges of the kingdō.' A(nswer). It is incident to man so  
*N.B.* to do. But the Word must determine the matter. *That* is the true countenance of the poynt in o<sup>r</sup> dispute. Some seeme to be too much for the Fraternity, and some to be too much for the Pr(es)bytery. The best issue of y<sup>e</sup> matter is to joyne y<sup>m</sup> both together, according to their capacities. The calling of officers, mission of officers to any service of Christ, receiving of members and censuring of offenders—the power of acting and managing these things belongeth to the organick p(ar)ts of the Church. To concurre and consent w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>m</sup> belongeth to the inorganick p(ar)ts; and both together make up the Church, and both should joyne together in these Church acts. Calling of officers is a Church act—Acts i. 15, 16. Mission of officers is a Church act—Acts xiii. 1, 3. Censuring of offenders is a Church Act—1 Cor. v. 4. It is in this case, as it is among us in the Churches and in o(u)r Church at Roxb(ury). In the poynt of Baptism some will have the dispensation of Baptism to go by regeneration only: none may have his child baptized till he himselfe is conv(er)ted and received to the supp(er), though borne and brought up in the Church. Others will have the dispensation of Baptism to goe by generation only: if the parent be baptized himselfe, his child shall be baptized, though he be carnal and have no grace at all. Thus these two p(ar)tys stand at a distance in their extreame; but I tell o(u)r brethren y<sup>t</sup> God hath joyned both generation and regeneration togeth(e)r, and they ought both to be regarded in the dispensation of baptism and in training up a Church seed for Christ.

lastly, you shut up y<sup>e</sup> poynt w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> assertion, y<sup>t</sup> general officers who never had a calling to any p(ar)ticular Church have a power of

mission of other general officers, as well as such as are fixed in p(ar)ticular churches. (7) A(nswer). I will not deny it, though I yet receive it not. A fixed officer w<sup>th</sup> the concurrence of the Fraternity, signifyeth more, as yet it seemeth to me, y<sup>n</sup> one y<sup>t</sup> hath only a general mission, unlesse it be one y<sup>t</sup> is deeply ingaged and blessed in y<sup>t</sup> general work. Againe, you say on the 3<sup>d</sup> head 'the universal society of the baptized, or visible Church, as headed by Christ is a political Church.' A(nswer). This poynt I confesse I understand not, unlesse you some way distinguish of political. I yet think y<sup>t</sup> a p(ar)ticular visible Church is the supreme ecclesiastical politie instituted by Christ on earth. Againe, whereas you say y<sup>t</sup> baptism admitteth him into the universal church, in my pore opinion he is in the universal church afore baptism. The children of the faithfull are by generation admitted into the universal Church and p(ar)ticular also, and sealed therein by Baptism.

In your first letter you p(ro)pose one thing about the Indian language and work w<sup>ch</sup> I defer to be spoken to, last of all.

In your 2<sup>d</sup> lett(er), you give me occasion to expresse my thankfulness to you for your loving acceptance of my giving you y<sup>t</sup> trouble to read over my defense of the 7<sup>th</sup> cap : of my discourse touching p(ar)ishional reformation ; and also for your history about the successfull indeavors of many ministers, in sundry countys ; and the great incouragment unto painefull ministry, to attend unto y<sup>t</sup> p<sup>t</sup> of the service of Christ (which) do(th) motion to deale w<sup>th</sup> soules. We have almost lost o<sup>r</sup> rising generation for want of it. Some begin to practise it, w<sup>th</sup> great successe and o(u)r mag(istrates) have incouraged us unto it by this inclosed edict, w<sup>ch</sup> is lately sent forth to all the Churches. I observe two impediments in it. The one is y<sup>t</sup> you mention lazinesse ; and the other is pride. If people will come to us we will speak w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>m</sup> ; but some are too high to goe to y<sup>m</sup>. Such as doe it find great successe in it. And the Lord raise our humble and painefull ministers in England and in all Christendom to attend this work, w<sup>ch</sup> will so successfully (through the grace of Christ) advance p(ar)ochial and universal reformation in the Kingd(om) of Jesus Christ.

Your q(uestion) about o(u)r Indians is this—' I pray tell me how far y<sup>t</sup> Indian language reacheth into w<sup>ch</sup> you have translated the Bible, and how numerous their languages are, and w<sup>t</sup> hopes of further successe are w(it)hin your pr(e)s(e)nt pr(os)p(e)ct ?' A(nswer). Here be 3

q(uestions) (1) for the extent of o(u)r Massachusett or Narraganset language (for these are all one). By an eminent providence of God, the extent thereof is very large, though not w(i)thout some variation of dialect, yet not such as hindereth a ready understanding of each other. And all p'ts w<sup>ch</sup> receive the word of God, and pray, doe readily understand the Bible, and catechisme, and other books ; and these books will be a meanes to fix, and extend, this language. It is more y<sup>n</sup> an hundred miles eastw(a)rd fro(m) us to Cape Cod, the utmost extent of o(u)r East<sup>rn</sup> continent neere us. All these speake o(u)r dialect. The Eastmost llands, South East frō us, are Nantuket and Martha's Vinyard. Their dialect a little varyeth, but they understand us and we y<sup>m</sup>. They have the Bible and Catechisme more so(u)therly in long lland (as we call it) w<sup>ch</sup> reacheth to the Dutch Plantation now called New York. They speake o(u)r language w<sup>th</sup> some variation of dialect and some words. But the Bible and Catechisme and other books are readily understood. All the shore continent, as far as the Dutch, have also the same language but w<sup>th</sup> some variation of dialect. This is more y<sup>n</sup> 200 miles to the South. To returne to Conecticot. That river is planted by the English up streame more y<sup>n</sup> 100 miles. The neereest p(ar)t of it is about 90 miles (S.W. margin) frō the Massachusetts ; and recently (?) I have bene at sundry places, upon y<sup>t</sup> river, where I taught the Indians and they did p(er)fectly understand the Bible, the Catechisme, and other discourse. They speake o(u)r dialect, or p(rett)y neare. To the northwest are a people called Pennywoof Indians about 60 or 70 miles frō us. With them I did very lately this spring converse and they speake o(u)r language with some variation of dialect. To the North and N.E. I have not conversed far, not above 30 or 40 miles, and they use o(u)r language. Only, the furth(e)r North the more they vary. All this (?) I speake upon my owne knowledge. Only, of the most remote places I have the least knowledge. Our language is understood Northward as far as Canada. How far Southward I cañot tell. The reasons of this wonderfull extent of this language are 3. (1) The Massachusetts and Narraganset Sachems have held a very vast imperiū over all parts, far and neere, as also the Pequots, who are by the Narragansets, have beene great cong(u)erors and rulers.

(2) Because the Narraganset Bay is the principal, if not the only place in all this country, where y<sup>t</sup> shellfish is found, of w<sup>ch</sup> shells they make their jewels and mony of great valew, and the royal ornaments

—of use and valew as far as Mexico, as may be gathered frō Peter Martyr, the Spanyard his trade.

(3) By reason of the situation of the countrys, butting upon the Narraganset Bay—the only, or principal soyle y<sup>t</sup> p(ro)duces y<sup>e</sup> money and jewels. For the long East(er)n continent of Cape Cod hath on its back to the South these Narraganset seas (?). The forementioned Islands of Nantucket Bay, long Island and other Islands ly off to sea and imbay these Narraganset coasts—w<sup>ch</sup> Bay extends to New York. The mouth of Conecticot River, w<sup>ch</sup> sig(nifies) long river, and the mouth of Qunnibuoy river on w<sup>ch</sup> the Pequots and others live, these open into the Narraganset Bay. By reason of this situation these p(ar)ts we(re) places of great resort frō all p(ar)ts and their language desirable—also, since the English came to these p(ar)ts, these places are much resorted unto. Many years since, some years before I began to teach the Indians, a french Fryar was sent Imbassador frō Canada to o(u)r Massachusetts. He was both witty, ingenuous, and learned. He and I had much discourse. He lay one night at my house, and by him I p(er)ceived y<sup>t</sup> theire Indians and o(u)r s had the same way of forming nouns and v(er)bs, w<sup>ch</sup> is the essence of a language. Thus, by the overruling p(ro)vidence of God, the Bible is in the finest language to be spread over all the country. But of the number and variety of the dialects, I am not able to give an account, and for hopes w(i)thin view—the fields are white but laborers are few. Since the death of my son, the Indians have called my son-in-law, M<sup>r</sup> Glover,<sup>1</sup> whose heart the Lord hath bowed to the work, and my youngest (?) son<sup>2</sup> hath devoted himselfe to the work ; but of this I may hereafter be able to say more, when I see y<sup>t</sup> the co<sup>m</sup>missioners will accept y<sup>m</sup>, and afford y<sup>m</sup> due encouragm<sup>t</sup>. The work is chargable and full of difficulty and hardship, and few or almost none have an heart to set upon it. Pray for this day of small things.

Thus co<sup>m</sup>ending you to the Lord and to the word of his grace,  
I rest

Your unworthy fellow labourer  
JOHN ELIOT.

*Endorsed*—‘for the Reverend M<sup>r</sup> Rich. Baxter a minister of Jesus Christ, these.’

<sup>1</sup>Perhaps the Rev. Pelatias Glover, Springfield, Mass.—Willaston Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 273, note 11.

<sup>2</sup>Possibly Joseph Elliot, of Guilford, *id.*, p. 276.

XIII. February 5, 1670 ?<sup>1</sup>

MY DEARE AND VERY MUCH HONOURED BROTHER,

I take myselfe very much obliged to thankfullnes for the renewed communication of y<sup>r</sup> thoughts on y<sup>e</sup> matters in question ; and for your condescension to so large an answer to my questions. Accept my willingnesse and pardon my weaknesse in this returne. 1. I thinke some men are called to goe preach and baptize Infidel nations who are Pastors of particular Churches ; and some who are not nor ever were, but only ordained ministers of Christ related to y<sup>e</sup> world for y<sup>e</sup> gathering of Churches and to y<sup>e</sup> Church Universell. The first sort have reason to seeke y<sup>e</sup> consent of y<sup>t</sup> people to whom they are related. But not as a thing of necessity to their loose(ing ?) ; much less as giving them any authority. For the Necessity and Oportunity of greater work doth more fully shew y<sup>e</sup> will and call of God to our particular province than y<sup>e</sup> will of a congregation doth. Yet doubtlesse none of God's people are to be despised ; nor are they useles to us about our removes. It is meete that they fast and pray with us for God's direction and assistance ; w<sup>ch</sup> they canot do in faith if they are before perswaded that our undertaking is sinfull. And this may be said of any Church wherein we come, and not our own onely. Gods Interest in us is greater than y<sup>e</sup> peoples. And that there is such as y<sup>e</sup> second sort mentioned (ministers indefinitely) appeareth by what I have formerly said to you. The Apostles were such ; and so were many at least of y<sup>e</sup> Evangelists, and most of y<sup>e</sup> Ministers named in y<sup>e</sup> New Testam<sup>t</sup> : seeing y<sup>t</sup> they did as y<sup>e</sup> Apostles did—stay sometimes a moneth, a yeare, or diverse yeares in one church and place, to see it well settled before they went on to gather more. And were no doubt true temporary Pastors of every such Church where they staid. It is to a Ministry whose first worke is converting and Baptising, y<sup>t</sup> Christ hath promised his presence to y<sup>e</sup> end.

And were I yo<sup>r</sup> neighbor, and did believe y<sup>t</sup> forsaking yo<sup>r</sup> Church would enable you to do much more service to y<sup>e</sup> poore Indians than yo<sup>r</sup> church service cometh to, I should cast in my judgm(en)t y<sup>t</sup> it were your duty so to do, and to be only y<sup>e</sup> Apostle to y<sup>e</sup> Indians.

[A passage follows by way of answer to Eliot's citation of examples

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Williams, Baxter's Letters, vol. v. 228<sup>a</sup>.



from the N.T. (particularly Matthias, Paul and Barnabas) of what he esteemed the rule, that Ministers—including Missionaries and Evangelists—derived their authority, under God, from the people. Baxter cannot tolerate this and sums up :—]

In a word the people of a congregation *give* no *Authority* to their owne Pastors, but only choose y<sup>e</sup> persons y<sup>t</sup> shall receive it from Christ, as related to *them*. Therefore, they cannot give Ministers their indefinite power of office as related to y<sup>e</sup> world and to y<sup>e</sup> universall Church, w<sup>ch</sup> is antecedent to their relation to a particular Church (as Baptisme uniting us to Christ is antecedent to y<sup>t</sup> *consent* w<sup>ch</sup> uniteth us to a particular Church and pastor). Nor can y<sup>e</sup> people have y<sup>e</sup> power of choosing y<sup>e</sup> person to this indefinite function (1) because no one people in y<sup>e</sup> world can lay more claime to it than another, while y<sup>e</sup> person is not related to them more than unto others ; (2) Because y<sup>e</sup> whole scope of Scripture telleth us y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> people are not y<sup>e</sup> Governors of y<sup>e</sup> Church at all but comāded to obey and y<sup>e</sup> officers only to rule. And now even Dr. Owen here (in his Catechisme and to me) asserteth confidently (1) That y<sup>e</sup> ministers receive not their power from y<sup>e</sup> people but from Christ only ; and (2) that y<sup>e</sup> people are not at all Governo<sup>rs</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> Church. And we take those of you in New England who consent to yo<sup>r</sup> Synod's Propos(ition)s to be so much neerer us than y<sup>e</sup> 4 or 5 guides of y<sup>e</sup> Congregationall party here, y<sup>t</sup> we suppose y<sup>t</sup> we are little, if anything at all, disagreeing from you. And where you say y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> officers only are to impose hands, y<sup>t</sup> signifyeth y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> people have not so much as any of y<sup>e</sup> Investing, or traditionall, power. Nor do I know w<sup>t</sup> *Usurpation* it is for a Minister to leave a people whose Pastor he is, when y<sup>e</sup> World's, or Church's, *necessity* and his Opportunity shew God's will and call, nor for any Pastors to concur in judging it his duty, seeing he hath made no (lawfull) covenant with y<sup>e</sup> people *durante vitâ*, nor have they any Governm<sup>t</sup> over him. But all things are to be done in Love and order.

(2) This serveth in answer to your 2<sup>d</sup> Paragraph : I confesse all y<sup>t</sup> you say, y<sup>t</sup> a Councill of Churches and y<sup>e</sup> consent of y<sup>e</sup> people is not undesirable. But (1) A councill of Pastors only may do it ; and (2) one y<sup>t</sup> never was a member, much lesse a Pastor of a particular fixed Church, may be ordained to it. Ordaining Elders in every church much differeth from ordaining Ministers indefinitely.

*N.B.* (3) To yo<sup>r</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> I answer, we must distinguish between a *Church* essentially, and a regular well-ordered Church *ad bene esse*. No doubt but six godly persons with a godly pastor are a true Church. And if so, no doubt six persons, whose *heresies* and *wickednesse* do not notoriously exclude y<sup>m</sup> from y<sup>e</sup> number of *visible Christians*, may really make a *Church* though not a *good* one. Else we shall never be able to define a Church. Yet it is, as you say, an abuse of Christ's institution, too.

(4) I am sorry to read your narrative of Thomas Gold,<sup>1</sup> and as sorry to read—from another hand—y<sup>e</sup> sad case of y<sup>e</sup> Church at Hartford.<sup>2</sup> To speake my heart to you, I greatly distinguish between *N.B. Independency* and *Separation*: and my owne judgm<sup>t</sup> is for y<sup>e</sup> Independency of particular Churches in point of Govern<sup>t</sup>, though for their Dependency in point (of) Concord and Councill. And yet in this I goe not all so neere y<sup>e</sup> Presbyterians as you doe: For I take Councils to be lesse of Divine right, and more variable by humane prudence for statednesse, times, numbers, etc., than you seeme to doe.

But I take y<sup>e</sup> spirit of separation to be (the) spring of all our confusions. Thirty yeares agoe, I never heard y<sup>e</sup> name of Separatist but my heart rose ag<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Speaker, supposing it had been a reproach of Godly innocencie. But since (time) hath shewed it us by y<sup>e</sup> fruit's (w<sup>ch</sup> we are all yet under at this day), I saw y<sup>t</sup> one 'extreame must no more be justified than y<sup>e</sup> other. And now I see y<sup>t</sup>, as holynesse consisteth in *Power*, *Wisdom*e, and *Love*, and of a *sound mind* (as Paul calls y<sup>m</sup>), even so y<sup>e</sup> spirit of schisme or separation is nothing but—

(1) Pride or selfegreatnesse, instead of spirituall power.

(2) Ignorance with self-conceitednesse instead of a sound mind.

(3) Selfe Love and want of Love to others instead of universall Christian love.

And ye principall fomenter of it is our confounding mens *visible* and *mysticall* church state and qualifications, and taking y<sup>t</sup> to be necessary to their Church Communion which is necessary to their Justification and salvation, and specially becoming more strict than

<sup>1</sup> See Eliot, 20 July, '69.

<sup>2</sup> "One of the bitterest quarrels in New England Ecclesiastical history"—raged from 1653 to 1659. For details see Willaston Walker's "Creeds and Platforms," pp. 257, 262.

Christ, y<sup>t</sup> is, superstitious and arrogant by changing his test and termes of Church-admittance. The meere Baptismall Covenant is Christs termes. And our superstitious brethren have cast it off, and set up such tryalls of y<sup>e</sup> worke of Grace, for mañer, means, order, time, etc., w<sup>ch</sup> leaveth Ministers like y<sup>e</sup> Popish Confessours, not Stewards of Keyes but masters of y<sup>m</sup>, so y<sup>t</sup> there (are) no certaine termes of admittance knowne among y<sup>e</sup> Separatists; but they are as various as are (the) *opinions* of y<sup>e</sup> Pastor (yea, the people too) and as their severall degrees of charity. But yet let me tell you y<sup>t</sup> I believe such schismaticks as Gold's congregation are not to be severely handled . . . by y<sup>e</sup> magistrate. If you have not read it, I pray (read) Sulpitius Severus' life<sup>1</sup> of St. Martyn. Its worth yo<sup>r</sup> reading for a notable story of Ithacius and Idacius and other B<sup>ps</sup> dealing w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Priscilianists; and Martyne's w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>m</sup> for it.

Doubtless if your way of communicatory concordant Councils were set on foot, y<sup>e</sup> concordant Churches, w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Glory and strength of their Unity, would in time weane out and shame y<sup>e</sup> sects into nothing. And this was y<sup>e</sup> old good way till Cyril began violence at Alexandria, and, after, the Donatiste extraordinary members Drew Austin to change his Judgm<sup>t</sup>. Magistrates may serve yo<sup>r</sup> turne in New England, but how few are y<sup>e</sup> nations in y<sup>e</sup> world where, if we put y<sup>m</sup> to draw y<sup>e</sup> sword, it will not be first ag<sup>t</sup> ourselves? But no doubt y<sup>e</sup> Magistrate must keepe y<sup>e</sup> Peace; and repress unchristian reproachings of one another.

5. Hos. 2. 19, speaking but Gods speciall kindnesse to y<sup>t</sup> people (yea, many expositors think y<sup>t</sup> it is y<sup>e</sup> Catholick Church under y<sup>e</sup> Gospell y<sup>t</sup> is there meant) is not a prooffe y<sup>t</sup> any part is called Christs spouse, though every soul as a part of his spouse is espoused to Christ. A particular part of y<sup>e</sup> Church universall is not properly called Christs Kingdome any more y<sup>n</sup> a Corporation is called y<sup>e</sup> Kingdome of y<sup>e</sup> King. But I will not drive further that which is but *lis de nomine*.

6. As to yo<sup>r</sup> owne Church case of Baptism, pardon me for interposing my opinion y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> case seemeth not obscure in itselfe, supposing the right of Infant baptisme. I thinke y<sup>e</sup> same qualification w<sup>ch</sup> is

<sup>1</sup> This is a mistake: the story is not in "the Life of Martin" but in the "Sacred History of Sulpitius Severus," especially Chapter 50.

required in y<sup>e</sup> adult to their owne baptisme is required in one of y<sup>e</sup> parents (or adopting parent) to y<sup>e</sup> infants right. . . .

February 5, 1669/70.<sup>1</sup> (Continuation (after a break) of XIII).

And y<sup>t</sup> is plainly and certainly [*a sober, deliberate, understanding proposition of consent to y<sup>e</sup> Baptismall Covenant, not provided by others to be feigned*]. It is a superstition and Church Tyranny to require more. He y<sup>t</sup> professeth to believe, and devote himselfe to, God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, his Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier, renouncing y<sup>e</sup> flesh, y<sup>e</sup> world, and y<sup>e</sup> Devill, professeth conversion and all y<sup>t</sup> is necessary to Justification itselfe : And God will have every man y<sup>e</sup> chooser or refuser of his owne happinesse ; and no minister is supposed to know a man's heart better y<sup>n</sup> himselfe. His profession, then, is his Title w<sup>ch</sup> you cañot reject but by proving y<sup>t</sup> it is counterfeit ; w<sup>ch</sup> prooffe must (be) (1) by proving y<sup>t</sup> he really elsewhere professeth y<sup>e</sup> cleane contrary, or (2) that his actions notoriously give his tongue the lie. He is not to prove his *sincerity* to you (for who can do it ?), but you are to disprove it. These are Christ's termes ; and if they are not *ours*, we shall not do Christ's worke.

7. *Deepe engagements* and *blessing* in his workes is not necessary to an officer's Power.

8. To y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> you say you understand not, I say, where there is y<sup>e</sup> Lawfull Head and members y<sup>e</sup> *pars imperious* and *pars subdita*, qualified for a visible Church state, there is a Politicall Church. But Christ in Glory and all visible Christians on earth are such qualified parts—ergo, they are a Politicall Church. If there be any destructive defect, it is either on Christs part or on theirs. Not on Christs part. If there be, it is either want of Right (but y<sup>ts</sup> not true) (n)or want of Aptitude : not the later : For he wanteth neither Naturall-aptitude of Power, Wisdome, or Love, nor Relative aptitude. All y<sup>t</sup> the Papists say ag<sup>t</sup> it (who build their visible Monarchy most upon this Denyall of Christs Kingdome to be any other way visible) is, y<sup>t</sup> *He is in Heaven out of sight*.

But (1) he is God-man, and so visible in Heaven ; and his body visible on earth.

(2) His union is as neere as when he was on earth.

(3) His offices are visible.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Williams, Baxter's Letters, vol. iii. 147<sup>a</sup>.

- (4) When he was at Jerusalem he was not visible to y<sup>e</sup> rest of y<sup>e</sup> world : nor is y<sup>e</sup> King in his Court visible to y<sup>e</sup> rest . . . of his kingdome.

And the want is not in y<sup>e</sup> members ; for y<sup>t</sup> Profession w<sup>ch</sup> makes y<sup>m</sup> visible Christians, makes y<sup>m</sup> visible members, or disciples of Christ.

Lastly, whereas you say y<sup>t</sup> they are in y<sup>e</sup> *visible church* before Baptisme, I answere :—

(1) Secret heart-consent to y<sup>e</sup> baptismall Covenant is our entrance into y<sup>e</sup> regenerate Church and not y<sup>e</sup> Congregate Visible Church.

(2) The open profession of this consent (for ourselves and children) is a *halfe entrance* into y<sup>e</sup> visible Church, not compleated. As a consent to marry before solemnization, and a consent to be a Pastor before ordination, and a consent to be a Magistrate before inauguration, and a consent to be a soldier before y<sup>e</sup> *sacramentum et insignia militaria*.

(3) Baptisme is y<sup>e</sup> only *Regular compleat* entrance into y<sup>e</sup> church visible, without w<sup>ch</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Church is not to owne any as full members, except in cases of necessity, any more y<sup>n</sup> persons not solemnly married should be taken for married persons. Baptisme is God's *Investiture* or delivering us publike possession of our Church state, ministerially by man, as a house is delivered by a key sent by a servant, etc.

10. I thanke you with very great joy for y<sup>e</sup> edict of yo<sup>r</sup> magistrates enclosed. It signifyeth more good, if faithfully obeyed, than all y<sup>t</sup> I have heard of long time in y<sup>e</sup> Churches. O y<sup>t</sup> our Congregationall men heare would practice !

And lastly, I heartily thanke you for yo<sup>r</sup> intelligence of y<sup>e</sup> extent of y<sup>e</sup> language ; and for yo<sup>r</sup> condescending comūications to yo<sup>r</sup> unworthy brother, than whom few more value and honor yo<sup>r</sup> labor above all other mens, and who daily prayeth to God for yo<sup>r</sup> further successe ; and should much rejoyce to heare more of it before my pained languishing body lies downe in y<sup>e</sup> dust, and my soul shall quit this sinfull world. And sometime remember in yo<sup>r</sup> supplications to our father

Yo<sup>r</sup> weake and worthlesse fellow servant

RI. BAXTER.

Feb. 5, 1669/70. From my poore obscure recesses where I have been since I came out of prison for preaching and not taking y<sup>e</sup> Oxford oath.



On same page :—

‘To my Reverend Brother Mr John Eliot Minister of Christ in New England.’

XIV. 27 June, 1671.<sup>1</sup>

REVEREND AND DEARELY BELOVED BROTH<sup>r</sup>,

I doe most kindly thank you for the two bookes you sent me, together w<sup>th</sup> your very loving lines, testifying to your good acceptance of my advertizm(e)nts. The noyse I heard aforehand was not much beneath thunder, w<sup>ch</sup> drew out those words out of a quiver of love and hono<sup>r</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> I have for you in my heart ; but w<sup>n</sup> I came to see the booke (though sum̄er time is w<sup>th</sup> me a time of much action and very little reading), a litle way I have looked into it, and I acknowledg y<sup>t</sup> yet I have found nothing but what savoreth of the still voyce. The longer I live, and the more experiences I passe through, the more need I see and feele of a bearing, forbearing, longsuffering, and when al y<sup>t</sup> is done, of an open cordial loving spirit, caryage (carriage) and acting in things. One p<sup>t</sup> of selfe denyal is to deny o<sup>r</sup>selves for peace sake. W<sup>n</sup> I shall have more leisure to reade, I shall doe my pore indeavoure to consid(e)r wheth(e)r I can see any cause of offence in the booke. beloved broth<sup>r</sup>, God is teaching you patience and meeknesse, two eminent Gospel graces, and I rejoyced to see your p(ro)ficiency in y<sup>t</sup> schoole of Christ, w<sup>ch</sup> seemeth to me to appeare in your 2<sup>d</sup> booke, into w<sup>ch</sup> I also have a litle looked. But I reade only 1 *caption* this sum̄ertime, and especially because here be greater motions about the Indians y<sup>n</sup> ever were since I began to teach y<sup>m</sup>. I never found such violent opposition by Satan ; and yet the L(or)d doth outwork him in all, & the Kingd(o)me of Christ doth spread and rise the more by his so violent opposition. I shall forbear the history till the end of the yeare and then I purpose, if God will, and that I live, to write it and send it unto the honorable Corporation. My difficult attempt to teach y<sup>m</sup> the liberal Arts I have entered upon w<sup>th</sup> an a, b, c—w<sup>th</sup> some ocular demonstrations. My worthy friend Mr Ashurst or Mr Bell, will pr(e)sent you w<sup>th</sup> one. Also, that great poynt of church work, to send out either officers, or brethren, to call in their kindred and countrymen unto Christ, as we are in the actual practice of it, so I have drawne up a few instructive dialogs w<sup>ch</sup> are also p<sup>t</sup>ly historical.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Williams, Baxter's Letters, vol. iii. 264<sup>a</sup>.

One of w<sup>ch</sup> my good friend will also pr(e)sent you w<sup>th</sup>. The machinators would faine blow my small sparke into flames among us, but the love of Christ hath hithertoo pre(e)vented y<sup>m</sup> and pr(e)served us. God keepeth us still under his owne rods, blessed be his name. The Lord hath let us bleed very deeply, but yet he doth feed and cloath us. I shall ad no more at pr(e)sent but desiring your prayers I comend you to the Lord and to the word of his grace and so rest

Your loving broth<sup>r</sup> and fellow labourer in the Lords Vinyard

JOHN ELIOT.

Roxb. this 27 of the 4. 71.

*Endorsed.*—‘for the reverend M<sup>r</sup> Richard Baxter these.’

XV. September 2, 1671.<sup>1</sup>

DEARE BROTHER,

Yours of y<sup>e</sup> 21<sup>th</sup><sup>2</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> month I received this 2 of y<sup>e</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> just as I was sealing up Letters for new England. As for my offending writings w<sup>ch</sup> you mention I cannot be very peremptory in justifying them. But they are such as my most impartiall judgm(en)t did dictate as needfull for the place and time y<sup>t</sup> I live in. As I had displeased y<sup>e</sup> Prelates before, I expected to displease many others by those papers; but it was that God and conscience might be pleased. No man can be a fit judge of our case that is not here. This only I may tell you, y<sup>t</sup> when our sufferings were great and threatened our lives, we seemed peaceable and calme. But since by connivence of his M<sup>aty</sup> they are somewhat lightened, wee are grown more dis-tempered, rash, and heady: And our strength is greatly abated w<sup>th</sup> our concord, while y<sup>e</sup> terms of universal concord are forsaken; and as y<sup>e</sup> Prelates have their narrow termes on one side, so have many others on y<sup>e</sup> other side: And many judge y<sup>e</sup> cause to be good or bad, as it seemeth to them to be *ag’t* or *for* y<sup>e</sup> interest of y<sup>m</sup> by whom we suffer; like two armies of enemies, our first question to each cause and person is, who are you for? and who are you ag(ain)st? We offer to subscribe to y<sup>e</sup> doctrine of y<sup>e</sup> Church of England; and yet because y<sup>e</sup> Quakers suffer with us (who will not any of y<sup>m</sup> owne y<sup>e</sup> Scripture or y<sup>e</sup> essentialls of y<sup>e</sup> Christian faith) we have far more

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Williams, *Baxter's Letters*, vol. i. 59<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> 27<sup>th</sup>? The <sup>th</sup> is clear.

charity for y<sup>m</sup> than for a pious conformable minister ; and I y<sup>t</sup> am of y<sup>e</sup> principles of Dod, Cartwright, Hildersham, am more censured for sometimes holding communion with such a conformist as Sibs, Preston, Bolton (for such, for piety, though of lower parts we have) than I should be if I had joined with y<sup>e</sup> Quakers. And though my own Judgm<sup>t</sup> and endeavours have still been to embody y<sup>e</sup> Presbyt<sup>s</sup>, Independ<sup>s</sup>, Anabaptists, and all y<sup>t</sup> hold y<sup>e</sup> essentialls of faith and church communion, yet because I will not totally leave out y<sup>e</sup> best of y<sup>e</sup> conformists. . . . The truth is, it is hard to suffer and not to be passionate ; and hard to be passionate and yet be wise and innocent. The common body of strict Professours are strongly addicted to be censorious ag<sup>t</sup> all that are not of their mind. And since ministers are stript of all by y<sup>e</sup> prelates, y<sup>e</sup> favour of y<sup>e</sup> people is become their interest. And so y<sup>e</sup> most censorious are like to have ye rule ; and it is not all y<sup>e</sup> pastors y<sup>t</sup> are popular that dare displease or contradict them. But God hath saved me from y<sup>t</sup> temptation, enabling me to help others ; and not to receive or be burdensome to any, or live upon y<sup>e</sup> peoples kindnesse ; and I intend not to take up with y<sup>e</sup> hypocrite's reward, and live on their applause. I will keepe none of their favour w<sup>ch</sup> must be kept by sin. The truth is, y<sup>e</sup> maine body of y<sup>e</sup> Nonconformable ministers in England are fitted for a very hopefull concord, if Affliction and popularity were not y<sup>e</sup> strong temptations of y<sup>e</sup> time. And to or three men are (?) not . . . more hindered it y<sup>n</sup> all ye rest. Had you stood by as I (have) for 15 yeares and seene 3 or 4 ministers influencing y<sup>e</sup> body of opinion to leave (?) and cast away peace (?) charity (?) and a most hopefull Reformation . . . . . you to dislike y<sup>e</sup> principles and spirit w<sup>ch</sup> tend to this. When the house was newly fallen on all our heads, w<sup>ch</sup> they pulled downe, they were silent, calme, and almost like penitents. But (1) when they saw y<sup>t</sup> their Afflictors openly appeared as flagitious persons, and were worse y<sup>n</sup> y<sup>m</sup>selves ; and (2) y<sup>t</sup> our broken condition constraineth men of other principles to congregate, as to outward appearance, in a separating mode, they presently returne to y<sup>e</sup> same spirit, and, instead of repentance, we are more puft up with y<sup>e</sup> self-applause of our own innocency and holynes than ever, as if we were justified by y<sup>e</sup> vices of other men that are worse. In one word, S<sup>r</sup>, there is one vice y<sup>t</sup> I perceive adhereth almost incurably, not only to this or that

Party but to depraved nature, w<sup>ch</sup> frustrateth all meanes and ruinateth all ; and y<sup>t</sup> is, all people tenaciously over valuing their own understandings. The weaker any men or women are, y<sup>e</sup> more confident and censorious ag<sup>t</sup> dissenters. There is but one thing y<sup>t</sup> giveth any ordinary checke to this disease, and y<sup>t</sup> is, when y<sup>e</sup> ministers are of such very eminent parts as utterly to overtop and cloud y<sup>e</sup> peoples. But those are alas ! very few ; and if those few prove unsound and tainted with any ill designe, they are but y<sup>e</sup> more capable to do hurt. I am sorry to heare of your opposition. There is no man's worke in y<sup>e</sup> world y<sup>t</sup> my heart goeth out w<sup>th</sup>, more than yours. Though you must begin low, oh ! how much higher and nobler a worke is it than our fierce contentions about we know not what ourselves. The Lord preserve and prosper you, and turne yo<sup>r</sup> difficultys to yo<sup>r</sup> advantage. Will you give me leave to make one motion to you, for your common strength and benefit ? I hear your 'good motion for stated synods is neglected. I am for avoiding all busy Lording and Law making Synods where a major vote do thinke themselves authorized to tyrannize y<sup>e</sup> minor, though the wiser part. But loving and free assemblies are very needfull for mutuall assistance and concord. Gentle discourse in presence preserveth Love, and reconcileth difference, w<sup>ch</sup> distance and backbitings cherish. If, therefore, you would leave out your particular Reasons, from Institution, from the Texts y<sup>t</sup> mention y<sup>e</sup> 12 and y<sup>e</sup> 24 Elders etc.—(because many can agree in a practise y<sup>t</sup> cannot agree in y<sup>e</sup> reasons of it—) and offer the brethren only y<sup>e</sup> Setling of Ordinary Synods of correspondences and y<sup>t</sup> as for councill and concord, disclaiming Church tyranny, and leave every man to his owne principles ; if you would thus renew y<sup>r</sup> motion(s) and bring y<sup>m</sup> but to y<sup>e</sup> practise, you would, I thinke, do much to your common strength and safety. The generall precepts for Love, Concord, mutuall edification, order, etc., no doubt will warrant such ordinary meetings. But you y<sup>t</sup> are upon y<sup>e</sup> place are y<sup>e</sup> fittest judges (of) the rest

(The) desirer of your wellfare and safety  
(R. B.)

*Endorsed.*—'to my Reverend and much honoured brother M<sup>r</sup> John Elliott, Pastor of y<sup>e</sup> Church of Roxbury in New England.'

XVI. 30 May, 1682.<sup>1</sup>

REV(E)REND Sr,

Mr Ashhurst sent me one of the funeral Sermons at his good Father's discease w<sup>ch</sup> was pr(e)ached by you, w<sup>ch</sup> I did reade w<sup>th</sup> much mixture of affection both of sorrow and joy ; and it doth awaken my heart to pray y<sup>t</sup> a rich blessing may follow all your holy labors in the Lord. Further, I see y<sup>t</sup> you doe not forget, but have a lively remembrance of, o<sup>r</sup> poore Indians, and the Lord's gospelizing worke that is on foote among y<sup>m</sup>, for w<sup>ch</sup> good remembrance I doe returne you my hearty thanks. The worke is still on foote, praised be God ; and they greatly want Bibles. We are making another impression w<sup>th</sup> emendations. We have done the New Test. and psalms, but cañot get leave to print the old test(am)ent w<sup>ch</sup> the Indians doe earnestly cry for. They see the good of it in their old Bibles, w<sup>ch</sup> maketh them earnest for the whole Bible. My request to yourselfe is, y<sup>t</sup> you would please to stir up the honorable corpora-tion to it. Here is meanes sufficient, as I suppose. It seems to me to be a shame to us Protestants, y<sup>t</sup> we should w<sup>th</sup>hold frō them the Bible, w<sup>n</sup> they doe so earnestly beg for it. I am deepe in years and desire to finish it afore I dy, because I feare it will hardly be done after, and we have now lost above half a year's time, only for want of y<sup>t</sup> one word of their's—Fiat. I shall ad no (par)ticular informa-tion, because Mr Dudley can give you full information in all things. He is one of our pub(lic) agents, both of y<sup>m</sup> worthy men, especially Mr. Dudley, whose great worth you will sune see, and be delighted in his comūion ; and thus rever(e)nd Sr I comēd you to the Lord, desiring your prayers and resting

Your unworthy broth(er)  
in Or Lord Jesus

JOHN ELIOT.

Roxb(ury) this 30 of the 3<sup>d</sup>. 82.*Endorsed*— 'for the Rev(er)end Mr Baxter London.'*N.B.*—Where *N.B.* occurs in the margin, it is the Editor's.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Williams, *Baxter's Letters*, vol. v. 83<sup>a</sup>.



UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPTS, PAPERS AND  
LETTERS OF DR. JOHNSON, MRS. THRALE,  
AND THEIR FRIENDS, IN THE JOHN RY-  
LANDS LIBRARY.

BY MOSES TYSON, M.A., PH.D.

KEEPER OF WESTERN MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS  
LIBRARY.

A FEW days after the death of Mrs. Piozzi, in May, 1821, Sir James Fellowes, one of her executors, received a letter from Mrs. Siddons requesting the return of her letters to her "inestimable and lamented friend." Fellowes replied: "Sir John Salusbury and myself were left joint executors by my incomparable and lamented friend, Mrs. Piozzi. The whole of her valuable papers are consigned to our care, and I hope soon to be able to arrange them. For the present they are sealed up at Bath, but I shall take the earliest opportunity of informing Sir John, when we meet, of your request, and I am persuaded he will be desirous of partaking with me the pleasure of attending to any wish expressed by Mrs. Siddons."<sup>1</sup>

It is difficult to estimate the full value of the papers of Mrs. Piozzi, for over twenty years the intimate friend and correspondent of Dr. Samuel Johnson, the centre of a brilliant literary circle, an authoress of parts, and a witty and entertaining letter-writer of outstanding merit in a period particularly remarkable for its distinguished letter-writers. The papers "sealed up at Bath," which became the property of Sir John Salusbury Piozzi Salusbury, nephew of Gabriele Piozzi, and the adopted son and heir of his widow, without doubt included Mrs. Piozzi's diaries and notebooks, the original MSS. of her works, both published and unpublished, large packets of letters from her numerous friends and acquaintances, packets of letters in her

<sup>1</sup> A. Hayward, *Autobiography, Letters and Literary Remains of Mrs. Piozzi (Thrale)*, London, 1861, vol. i, p. 221.

own hand, returned to her by the executors of several of her correspondents, and a miscellaneous collection of family letters, business correspondence, estate papers and deeds. This mass of papers was probably removed at an early date to "Brynbella," the villa constructed by Piozzi a few miles from Denbigh and occupied by Sir John Salusbury since his marriage in 1814. To them were eventually added Sir John's own papers, together with the numerous letters received by him from his benefactress, and *Thraliana*, her bulky MS. diary and notebook, covering the period from September, 1776, to March, 1809, which Mrs. Piozzi had handed over to Sir James Fellowes, and from whose hands Sir John later received it.

The collection remained unbroken and, except for *Thraliana*, largely unconsulted for many years. There was from September 17th to 26th, 1823, at the Emporium Rooms, Exchange Street, Manchester, a sale described as that of "The Library, pictures, prints, coins, plate, china, and other valuable curiosities, the property of Mrs. Hester Lynch Piozzi, deceased," which included, together with many books with MS. notes and materials of Johnsonian interest, a number of Johnson letters. Apparently only one letter was sold.

On Sir John Salusbury's death on December 18th, 1858, the papers became the property of his son, the Rev. George Augustus Salusbury. He supplied Mr. Abraham Hayward with material, in the form of large extracts from *Thraliana*, for his *Autobiography, Letters and Literary Remains of Mrs. Piozzi*. Still more extracts were provided for the second edition of the work which appeared in the same year, 1861.

The next heir was the Rev. G. A. Salusbury's son, Major Edward Pemberton Salusbury, who sold Brynbella but retained the old family estate of Bachygraig. Possibly by this time some of the papers were in the hands of other members of the family, but in any case before Major Salusbury's death in 1908 part of the collection had been sold. On December 6th, 1904, Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge sold by auction a fine collection of letters addressed for the most part to Mrs. Thrale. There were sixteen letters from Johnson, eleven to Mrs. Thrale, four to Miss Boothby; two letters from Boswell to Mrs. Thrale; and a number of single letters to Mrs. Thrale from Burke, Goldsmith, Garrick, Michael Lort, Samuel Lysons, Fanny Burney, Hannah More, Mrs. Siddons and other

prominent people. In January, 1907, the same auctioneers disposed of twenty-five letters from Johnson to Mrs. Thrale and the five volumes of *Piozziana*, presented by Mrs. Piozzi in 1810 to her adopted son. On June 4th, 1908, took place a further sale of "books from the Library of Mrs. Thrale," together with forty-one letters from Johnson, a number of other letters from various correspondents, and some of the original MSS. of her works. The most important MS. was that of *Thraliana*, which was bought in by the owner, was again offered for sale in March, 1920, and was finally secured by private treaty for the Huntington Library in 1922. Other MSS. sold in 1908 included Mrs. Piozzi's *Anecdotes of the late Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*; her *Lyford Redivivus* (unpublished); *The Two Fountains: A Faery Tale in Three Acts*; a new Common-place book, begun in 1809; *Minced Meat for Pyes*; a domestic journal from September, 17th, 1766, to the end of 1778, chiefly concerned with her children; and her *Journal of the Tour in Wales with Dr. Johnson, July-September, 1774*, printed by A. M. Broadley in his *Dr. Johnson and Mrs. Thrale* (1910). Mr. Broadley evidently collected together a considerable amount of the material dispersed by the above-mentioned sales and made use of it in his book; he believed that the 1908 sale marked the complete dispersal of the MSS. of Mrs. Piozzi, an event which he deplored as "an insurmountable barrier to the completion of Johnson's biography" as well as to any exhaustive work dealing with the life and correspondence of Mrs. Piozzi. Mrs. Piozzi, however, had been exceptional in the care taken by her for the preservation of MSS. and correspondence, and a mass of papers remained as yet undisturbed exceeding in sheer bulk and in many respects surpassing in importance such part of the collection as had already been scattered.

On January 30th, 1918, and the following day, one hundred and fifty-nine letters from Johnson to Mrs. Thrale, the property of Mrs. R. V. Colman, great-granddaughter of Sir John Salusbury, were sold by "Sothebys." These letters, now widely dispersed, appear for the most part to have been printed in Mrs. Piozzi's *Letters to and from the late Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* (1788). Finally, in January, 1931, the Governors of the John Rylands Library acquired by purchase the remaining part of the collection.

The papers, which came to the Library in two large closely-

packed cases, are of a very miscellaneous nature. They were for the most part unsorted. Notes on the back of many letters and documents in his easily recognised hand show that they have been examined by Johnson; several bundles were made up by Mrs. Piozzi herself; others have evidently been gone through by Sir John Salusbury; one very large miscellaneous group of letters, which appears to have been kept apart, was briefly listed, probably by the Rev. G. A. Salusbury, in a fragment of a "House Book" of 1856, which also names the books kept in various cupboards, while the same owner later began to make an alphabetical index of correspondents. Together with these groups were mingled many packets of letters, notes and memoranda, note-books of all sizes, hundreds of deeds and family papers, and large batches of loose leaves of MSS.—many evidently gathered together indiscriminately, with no attempt at arrangement, and after being compared with the proofs of the printed works stored away as of little value in hastily made parcels.

It is hoped that before the end of the year this large mass of papers will be reduced to order and made accessible. A separate and detailed catalogue, with a full index, is already in course of preparation.

The contents of the collection may be arranged in the following groups:—

A. *Letters to, and from, friends and acquaintances of Mrs. Piozzi.*

B. *Letters to, and from, members of Mrs. Piozzi's family.*

C. *Business letters and papers.*

D. *Deeds and estate papers.*

E. *MSS. of works (both published and unpublished), diaries, rough note books, etc.*

GROUP A. *Letters to, and from, friends and acquaintances of Mrs. Piozzi.*

There are twenty letters to Mrs. Thrale (later Piozzi) from Dr. Johnson, of which eighteen are complete, a long letter in French bears neither signature nor date, and the remaining letter has lost the end sheet. The dates range from May 22nd, 1781, to December 1st, 1783. None of the letters were known to Dr. G. Birkbeck Hill when he edited *The Letters of Samuel Johnson, L.L.D.*, in 1892. Bound up with them is Johnson's draft of his epitaph on Mrs.

Salisbury, and also a number of notes, several in Latin, in Johnson's hand.

One hundred and ten letters to Johnson from members of the Thrale family, the great majority from Mrs. Thrale, cover the period from July 1st, 1771, to July 15th, 1784. The manner in which these letters returned to the writer's hands is revealed in two letters to Mrs. Piozzi, dated April 29th and August 30th, 1785, from Charles Selwin. Selwin writes "Sir Joshua Reynolds has in his hands all your letters to Dr. Johnson that were found amongst his papers, and wishes to know what you would have done with them," and later "I take for granted you will have heard of Mr. Cator's having received your Letters from Sir Joshua Reynolds as he promised me to send them to him in a sealed Parcel or Box agreeable to your Desire." All these letters are unpublished, but it is hoped in the near future to bring out an edition of Mrs. Thrale's letters to Johnson, which, apart from their own intrinsic interest, are invaluable as supplementing and occasionally elucidating Johnson's own letters.

There is part of the MS. of Mrs. Piozzi's *Letters to and from the late Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* (1788). The letters from Johnson—the originals of which appear to have been sent to the printer—have been removed and dispersed.<sup>1</sup>

A few letters to Johnson from various correspondents, including two from Charlotte Lennox, were probably left behind by him at Streatham.

There are numerous letters to Mr. and Mrs. Thrale dating from the time of her friendship with Johnson onwards. The names of the writers include many which are familiar to all students of Johnson and the literature of the second half of the eighteenth century. There are two letters from Boswell, eight from Baretti, eight from Fanny Burney, thirteen from Charles Burney, twenty-four from Samuel Lysons, thirty-five from Elizabeth Montagu, and over fifty from Arthur Murphy. Over one hundred letters to Hester Lynch Salisbury, before her marriage with Thrale the brewer, are from her tutor, Dr. Collier.<sup>2</sup> Other writers include Dr. Lawrence, Johnson's physician

<sup>1</sup> See above.

<sup>2</sup> They have been examined carefully by Dr. Johnson, who has written short notes on the back of several of them. Also there are many tutorial papers in Latin from Dr. Collier. For Collier see *Sketches of the Lives and Characters of Eminent English Civilians* [by Charles Coote?], London, 1804.



(7), Sir Lucas Pepys, Sir William Weller Pepys, Dr. Michael Lort, the Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge (13), Dr. Delap, poet and dramatist (15), Henry Bright of Abingdon, Sir Philip Jennings Clerke, Dr. E. Crane, prebendary of Westminster, Thomas Davies, the bookseller, William Seward (6), John Hinchliffe, Bishop of Peterborough, James Merrick, the versifier of the Psalms, Dr. Wetherell, Master of University College, Oxford, Francesco Sastres and Miss Sophy Streatfield. Twenty-one letters are from Mrs. Thrale to her friend Mrs. Lambart.

Much more numerous are the letters to and from Mrs. Thrale during the later period of her life after her marriage with the Italian musician, Gabriele Piozzi, and the death of Johnson. There are several large groups.

One hundred and sixty-five letters, written between 1786 and 1818, are from Mrs. Piozzi to the Rev. Leonard Chappelow,<sup>1</sup> and one hundred and twenty-five from Chappelow in reply. Chappelow himself was not without literary merit and was *persona grata* in literary circles.

One hundred and fifty-one letters, written between 1788 and 1821, are to Mrs. Piozzi from Mrs. Pennington, Anna Seward's "graceful and elegant Sophia Weston." Many of the corresponding letters from Mrs. Piozzi to Mrs. Pennington were published in 1914 by Mr. Oswald G. Knapp.<sup>2</sup>

Forty letters, written between 1787 and 1816, are from members of the Whalley family, most of them from the Rev. Thomas Sedgwick Whalley.<sup>3</sup>

There are one hundred and sixty letters to Mrs. Piozzi between 1806 and 1820 from Miss Marianne Francis. Marianne Francis was the daughter of Charlotte, fourth daughter of Dr. Charles Burney, and the niece of Fanny Burney. She was a close friend of William Wilberforce and of Arthur Young, the agriculturist. Her letters, which are full of interest, refer frequently to Wilberforce and Young, and to her aunt, Madame d'Arblay, Hannah More, and other writers

Of Roydon, near Diss, and Hill Street, Berkeley Square, London.

<sup>2</sup> *The Intimate Letters of Hester Piozzi and Penelope Pennington, 1788-1821* (London, The Bodley Head).

<sup>3</sup> For Whalley see *Journals and Correspondence of Thomas Sedgwick Whalley, D.D.*, edited by the Rev. Hill Wickham, M.A., London, 1863.

of the time. A few other letters are from Marianne's sister, Charlotte, and from her brother, Clement Francis.

Seventy-two letters written between 1791 and 1821 are to Mrs. Piozzi from the Rev. Robert Gray,<sup>1</sup> afterwards Bishop of Bristol (1827-34).

One hundred and seventy letters, written between 1798 and 1809, are to Mrs. Piozzi and her husband from John Gillon. Gillon appears to have done much business for Mrs. Piozzi, but he was also a close friend and a very well-informed man. His letters are rich in information, both personal and general, and he was evidently one of the chief sources of news enabling the active-minded Mrs. Piozzi, when far from the capital in Bath or Denbigh, to keep abreast of the happenings of the time.

There are groups of letters from Miss Anna Seward (11), Lady Eleanor Butler and Miss Sarah Ponsonby,<sup>2</sup> the recluses of Llangollen (22), Mrs. Siddons, the actress (16), William Siddons (12), Daniel Lysons, the topographer (12), Thomas Pennant, the naturalist (23), George James, A.R.A. (8), Miss Helen Maria Williams, authoress and "Girondist" (11), Robert Merry, "Della Crusca" (11), the Rev. Edward Mangin, author of *Piozziana* (20), Lady Kirkwall and family (54), Charles Sheppard, afterwards Attorney-General of Santa Lucia (15), Rev. Reynold Davies, tutor to the young John Piozzi Salusbury (42), John Cathron,<sup>3</sup> Somerset herald (12), and William Augustus Conway, the actor (10).<sup>4</sup>

Twenty-four letters are from Mrs. Piozzi to Mrs. Byron, wife of Admiral the Hon. John Byron (Foulweather Jack), and grandmother of the poet, and six letters are from Mrs. Byron.

The numerous other writers include Dr. Lewis Bagot, Bishop of

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Piozzi's letters to Dr. Gray were put at the disposal of Hayward for the second edition of his *Autobiography, Letters and Literary Remains of Mrs. Piozzi* (1861), by the Bishop's son, Mr. J. E. Gray.

<sup>2</sup> For the ladies of Llangollen, see *The Hamwood Papers of the Ladies of Llangollen and Caroline Hamilton*, edited by Mrs. G. H. Bell (John Travers), London, 1930.

<sup>3</sup> With copies of a number of replies.

<sup>4</sup> For other correspondence, see *Love Letters of Mrs. Piozzi, written when she was eighty, to William Augustus Conway* (London, 1842), P. Merritt's *The True Story of the so-called Love Letters of Mrs. Piozzi* (Cambridge, 1927), etc.

S. Asaph, Bertie Greatheed, the dramatist, Ann Greatheed, Cadell, the publisher, Dr. Robert Dealtry, Lord Deerhurst, Richard Duppa, editor of *A Diary of a Journey into North Wales in the year 1774*, by Samuel Johnson, LL.D., Sir James Fellowes,<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Piozzi's executor, Rev. G. H. Glasse, the classical scholar, James Hutton, the Moravian, Sir Walter of James Langley Hall, Berks., the celebrated Miss Ellis Cornelia Knight, Miss Harriet Lee, the novelist, Mrs. C. Lewis, widow of the Dean of Ossory, Miss Hannah More, William Parsons, the poet (?), M. Perkins, Thrale's superintendent and successor at the brewery, Stockdale, the publisher, Mrs. Strickland, Mrs. Piozzi's "oldest friend," Lord Thurlow, Horace Twiss, the future biographer of Lord Eldon, and also the Marquess Trotti, Alfonso Pellegrini, and a number of Italians.

A number of copies of letters from Mrs. Piozzi to various correspondents, made by Mrs. Piozzi herself, are bound up in a separate volume.

GROUP B. *Letters to, and from, members of Mrs. Piozzi's family.*

A miscellaneous collection includes letters from Mrs. Piozzi's father, John Salusbury, to his wife, several sent from Halifax, Nova Scotia ; letters to John Salusbury from Lord Halifax, Dr. E. Crane and others ; letters from, and relating to, Sir Thomas Salusbury, Sir Lynch Salusbury Cotton, and other members of the Salusbury and Cotton families.<sup>2</sup>

There are a number of letters from Mrs. Piozzi's daughters, Hester Maria Thrale (Dr. Johnson's Queeny), later Viscountess Keith ; Susannah Arabella Thrale, Sophia Thrale, later Mrs. Henry Merrick Hoare, and Cecilia Margaretta Thrale, later Mrs. John Meredith Mostyn. A bundle of correspondence concerns the opposition met with by the youthful love affairs of Cecilia, which ended with her elopement with Mostyn. No fewer than four hundred and sixty-nine letters, written between 1807 and 1821, are from Mrs. Piozzi to her adopted son, John Salusbury Piozzi Salusbury. They cover his school-days, spent at the Rev. T Shepherd's, Enborne Cottage, near Newbury, Berks., his career at Christchurch, Oxford, and the period down

<sup>1</sup> Letters to Sir James Fellowes are printed in Hayward, *Autobiography* etc., and A. M. Broadley, *Dr. Johnson and Mrs. Thrale* (1910).

<sup>2</sup> Many letters have been examined and endorsed by Johnson.

to Mrs. Piozzi's death, during which he married Harriet, second daughter of Edward Pemberton of Ryton Grove, Shropshire, took up residence at Brynbella, was sheriff of Flintshire in 1816, and was knighted the following year on presenting an address to the Prince Regent. There are also twenty-seven letters from him to Mrs. Piozzi between 1808 and 1821.<sup>1</sup>

One hundred and twenty-seven letters are from Mrs. Piozzi to Lady Salusbury, both before and after her marriage. Other correspondence includes twenty-one letters from Mrs. Piozzi to Mrs. Pemberton, Lady Salusbury's mother, and also a large packet of letters relating to Mrs. Pemberton's family, and, in particular, to her brother, Nicholas Owen Smythe Owen of Conover (1770-1804), a rather wild young man.

#### GROUP C. *Business Letters and Papers.*

Hundreds of letters<sup>2</sup> are from solicitors, estate agents, stewards, and business people. They date from the time of Mrs. Lucy Salusbury of Bachygraig, Mrs. Piozzi's grandmother, onwards. Many letters relating to the Bachygraig estate and to business affairs in Wales are from Edward Bridges of Aberwheeler, Richard Lloyd of Tynewydd, Thomas Lloyd, Clement Mead, William Shackfield, and John Oldfield of Farm, Abergely. Letters relating to the property left to Mrs. Thrale by Sir Thomas Salusbury are from William Wiltshire of Hitchin. Others relating to London affairs are from her steward Alexander Leak and others. A small group are from Nova Scotia and deal with the lands acquired there by John Salusbury. Bundles of letters concerned with legal business, many dealing with Mrs. Piozzi's dispute with her daughters over Mr. Thrale's will, are from John Cator, acting executor to Mr. Thrale, J. Ward, and the firm of Vandercom and Grant. There is also a "Memorial of H. L. Piozzi against John Cator, Esq<sup>e</sup>," in Mrs. Piozzi's hand. Among the numerous smaller groups may be mentioned letters from Mr. Scrase of Brighton, an old retired solicitor, who had been the friend of Mr. Thrale's father and was deep in Mrs. Thrale's con-

<sup>1</sup> Notes to Mrs. Piozzi from her young adopted heir are also found among the letters of the Rev. Reynold Davies.

<sup>2</sup> Notes, in Johnson's handwriting, occur on a large number of the letters of the earlier period.

fidence, and others from Perkins of Barclay and Perkins, Thrale's successors at the brewery. There is also a collection of bills and receipts, including many from lesser tradespeople. This group also includes various inventories taken by Mrs. Piozzi of china, plate, and other goods belonging to Mr. Piozzi in 1784, with additions up to 1788; a "Catalogue of Books at Brynbella, 18 Oct<sup>r</sup>, 1806" with additions up to 1813, made by Mrs. Piozzi; a priced catalogue of the Manchester sale<sup>1</sup> in 1823, together with correspondence with the auctioneers; and a priced catalogue and correspondence relating to a sale at Brynbella on April 13th, 14th, and 15th, 1836.

GROUP D. *Deeds and Other Documents.*

There are over three hundred and thirty deeds, grants, conveyances, rentals, wills, bonds and other documents for the period from 1490 to 1837. The majority of them relate to Bachygraig and to lands in and around Dymeirchion in the county of Flint. They mostly concern the Salusbury family from the Sir Thomas Salusbury of Henry VII's reign onwards, but many of the early ones also concern the Billings family, while the Cloughs, the Pennants and many local families are named in numerous later deeds. In two deeds of 1777 relating to land in Bodvarry, in the county of Flint, the parties named are, in the first deed, Henry Thrale of the one part, and Dr. Samuel Johnson and John Cator of the other, and, in the second, Henry Thrale and Hester Lynch, his wife, of the one part, and Dr. Samuel Johnson and John Cator of the other. The documents also include an abstract of the settlement made on the 9th and 10th October, 1763, previous to the marriage of Henry Thrale and Hester Lynch Salusbury; Henry Thrale's bond to his wife's mother, Mrs. Salusbury, for two thousand pounds, dated March 25th, 1770; deeds, dated July 19th, 1784, concerning a settlement made before the marriage of Hester Lynch Thrale, widow, and Gabriele Piozzi; the certificate of the marriage of Hester Lynch Thrale and Gabriele Piozzi, dated July 23rd, 1784; the denisation certificates of Gabriele Piozzi and of his nephew John Salusbury Piozzi; and the will of Hester Lynch Piozzi, dated March 29th, 1816, together with a duplicate of the same in her own hand.

<sup>1</sup> See above.



GROUP E. *MSS. of Works (both published and unpublished), Diaries, Note Books, etc.*

The following brief descriptions will serve to give some indication of the importance of the numerous MSS. :—

(i) A copy in Mrs. Thrale's hand of *The Fountains : A Fairy Tale*, by Dr. Samuel Johnson.<sup>1</sup> A translation in Italian of this work has been roughly removed from the same note-book, and a much later note states "Why this was translated, or transcribed, or why the translation was torn, and the transcript left, I cannot now make a guess, H. L. P., 1801."

(ii) Mrs. Piozzi's original account of her "Italian Journey." This is in a large 4to note-book, written up from time to time. The first entry was made at Dover on September 5th, 1784, and the last at Milan on September 6th, 1786.

(iii) Mrs. Piozzi's original account of her "German Journey." This is in another large 4to note-book, and was written up from time to time. The first entry records her departure from Milan on September 22nd, 1786, and the last was probably written at Brussels early in March, 1787.

(iv) Seven folio note-books containing "Observations and Reflections collected from the Diary of Hester Lynch Piozzi during her Journey thro' France, Italy, and Germany in the years 1784, 85, 86 and 87." This work was rewritten with many important modifications and alterations. The new work survives in

(v) A manuscript of three hundred and eighty-two loose leaves, from which was printed Mrs. Piozzi's *Observations and reflections made in the course of a journey through France, Italy, and Germany*, (2 vols., London, 1789).

(vi) A manuscript of two hundred and forty-two loose leaves. This is evidently Mrs. Piozzi's final draft, except for a few pages now missing, of her work *British Synonymy* (2 vols., London, 1794). Together with this MS. is a folio note-book containing a draft of a short section of the work and a few notes.

(vii) Four folio note-books containing rough drafts of the preface and of several long sections of Mrs. Piozzi's work, "Retrospection."

<sup>1</sup> Originally printed in *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse*, by Anna Williams (London, 1766).

(viii) A manuscript of five hundred and four loose leaves, evidently the final draft of Mrs. Piozzi's *Retrospection: or a Review of the most striking and important events, characters, situations, and their consequences, which the last eighteen hundred years have presented to Mankind* (2 vols., London, 1801). Part of the short preface and four leaves of text are missing.

(vii) A volume of "Manuscript poems on various subjects and on several occasions." The poems were written by Mrs. Thrale, before and after her marriage, between 1757 and 1768. They include "The Three Warnings," which first appeared in the *Miscellanies* of Anna Williams. Many poems do not appear to have been printed.

(viii) A manuscript, in Mrs. Thrale's hand, of the poem on the Streatham portraits, printed by Hayward with the *Autobiography*.

(ix) Seven small note-books containing a journal kept by John Salusbury from June 15th, 1749, to April, 1751, when in Nova Scotia, and another small note-book also containing memoranda made in Nova Scotia. On the covers are notes in Dr. Johnson's handwriting showing that he had read the books carefully. Mrs. Thrale in her *Autobiography* refers to Salusbury's going to Nova Scotia in the following passage: "Lord Halifax was now, or soon after, head of the Board of Trade, and wished to immortalise his name—he had no sons—by colonising Nova Scotia. Cornwallis and my father, whom he patronised, were sent out, the *first persons* in every sense of the words."

Together with the above are two more small note-books, used as common-place books.

(x) Twenty-two printed diaries with numerous personal entries and notes by Mrs. Thrale (Piozzi). They consist of *The Daily Journal* (1757, 1761), *The Ladies' Own Memorandum Book* (1773, 1802), *The Ladies' most elegant and convenient Pocket Book* (1788), *Harris's British Ladies Complete Pocket Memorandum Book* (1790), *Kearsley's Gentleman and Tradesman's Pocket Ledger* (1800), *The Daily Journal, or Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book* (1810, 1817-19, 1821), *Goldsmith's Almanack* (1812-19), *Peacock's Polite Repository* (1817), and *The Historical Almanack* (1820).

(xi) Mrs. Thrale's original "French Journal, 1775." This is in

a 4to note-book, written up from time to time, and fills 147 pages. The first entry relates to September 15th, 1775, and the last concludes with the words : " My adventures are now at an end and so shall be my Journal, finished at Dover, Saturday, 11th Nov<sup>r</sup>., 1775."

(xii) A note-book containing " Three Dialogues on the Death of Hester Lynch Thrale. Written in August, 1779." The speakers in the first dialogue, supposed to take place " A month after my Death," are Johnson, Burke, Pepys and Mrs. Montagu ; in the second they are Cator, Mrs. Cator, Norman and Baretti ; and in the third they are Seward, Sir Richard Jebb, Sir Philip Jennings Clerke, and later, Thrale, Miss Thrale, Lady Lade and Miss Dodson. Mrs. Thrale in her Preface says, " The first Dialogue will be the favourite with everybody else—but the last was best liked by the Author."

(xiii) A folio note-book containing Mrs. Piozzi's MS. of a work in ten chapters headed respectively : " Of the Holy Scriptures ; " " Of the Lord's Prayer " ; " Of the Creeds " ; " Of the Decalogues ; " " Of the Sacraments ; " " Of the Xtian Virtues ; " " Of the four Cardinal Virtues ; " " Of the Mysteries ; " " Of Ceremonies ; " and " Conclusion." It is prefaced by a letter, dated " Milan, 13 August, 1786," from H. L. Piozzi to her daughter Susanna, for whom it was evidently written.

(xiv) Mrs. Piozzi's original " Journey Book " of her " Journey through the North of England and part of Scotland, Wales, etc." A folio note-book, written up from time to time. The final entry is as follows : " Bath to London afforded nothing new, so here at Han<sup>r</sup> Square, 27 Dec<sup>r</sup>, 1789, ends a Journey of 1300 miles made in Great Britain alone since the 3<sup>d</sup> of last June, 1789."

(xv) A large 4to notebook containing, in Mrs. Piozzi's handwriting, a work with the title " Una and Duessa, or a set of Dialogues upon the most popular subjects." The MS. was " begun in April and ended in July, 1791."

(xvi) A folio note-book containing, in Mrs. Piozzi's handwriting, a three-act play with the title " The Two Fountains. A faery tale." The scene of the play is Derbyshire. Mrs. Piozzi has made numerous later alterations and additions to the text.

(xvii) A manuscript of twenty-three loose leaves, in Mrs. Piozzi's handwriting, with the title " Three Warnings to John Bull before he

dies. By an old Acquaintance of the Public." On the old wrapper is the note, "MS. of a political Pamphlet, 1798, Mrs. Piozzi, Warren's Hotel."

(xviii) A collection of poems, translations, charades and other *jeux d'esprit*, written by Mrs. Piozzi on loose sheets, scraps of note-paper and small cards. They belong to all periods of her life.

(xix) A collection of miscellaneous prose pieces, fragments of works, notes and jottings, by Mrs. Piozzi and others. Several pieces relate to Dr. Johnson.

(xx) An 8vo note-book containing "The Trial of Midas the 2d, or, Congress of Musicians," a long poem in three cantos. At the end is the date "1777."

(xxi) A 4to note-book containing Act I of "The Humourist. A Comedy," in Mrs. Thrale's hand.

(xxii) A 4to note-book containing "The Adventurer. A Comedy in two Acts," in Mrs. Thrale's hand.

(xxiii) A 4to note-book also containing "The Adventurer. A Comedy in two Acts." This MS. is written in a hand not yet determined. There are also several emendations evidently made by Mrs. Thrale herself.

(xxiv) Many loose leaves containing the *Épître I sur l'homme, à M. le chevalier de Ramsay* of Louis Racine, rendered into English verse by Mrs. Thrale when evidently quite young. There are translations of five letters, two from Sir James Ramsay to Racine, Racine's reply to Ramsay, a letter from Alexander Pope to Racine, and Racine's reply to Pope; also rough drafts of parts of the translation and of proposed prefaces to the translation. In one preface the young translator writes: "I, thinking it more impertinently vain to resist the solicitations of Gentlemen so eminent in the Literary World [as Dr. Wilson, Dr. Collier and Dr. Parker *crossed out*] than to yield to them, comply'd and resolved not only to translate the Essay itself but the Preface and some few Original Letters w<sup>ch</sup> I culled, not w<sup>th</sup>out much Trouble from the Author's Collection of Letters."<sup>1</sup> On the cover containing this manuscript Mrs. Piozzi has written: "Essay on Man A Translation from Racine by H. L. S. at a very early Period, perhaps 13 years old."

<sup>1</sup> For the original letters see *Œuvres de Louis Racine* (Paris, 1808), pp. 435-449.

(xxv) A manuscript of thirty-four folio leaves. This is a translation made by Mrs. Piozzi, when very young (see below), of "The Life of Michael Cervantes Savedra by Don Gregorio Mayansiscar."<sup>1</sup>

(xxvi) A 4to note-book containing: "The Life of Michael Cervantes Savedra wrote by Don Gregorio Mayansiscar." A note at the beginning says: "This was translated by H. L. Salusbury from the Spanish in the year 1756 I believe, or rather 1755—it was copied over by Thos. Cotton, her first cousin, a Boy at School."

(xxvii) Fragments of translations from the Spanish into English and Italian of the *Don Quixote* of Cervantes.

(xxviii) A 4to note-book containing a "Dissertation on the God Endovellicus." A later note added by Mrs. Piozzi, says: "This was a strange thing for a child to do. It was written in the year 1755 or 1756, at latest, by H. L. Salusbury."

(xxix) A 4to note-book containing "A Summary of the History of England from the Conquest to the Revolution." Written by Mrs. Piozzi.

(xxx) A 4to note-book containing a "Sketch of Europe in 1797, unrolled by Dumouriez,<sup>2</sup> colour'd &c. by H. L. Piozzi."

(xxxi) A 4to note-book containing a later version of the above, with a Preface, also in Mrs. Piozzi's hand. The title given is "Miniature Picture of Europe by Dumouriez in 1797."

(xxxii) Notes on Hebrew grammar, in Mrs. Piozzi's hand. The first chapter of Genesis is translated and parsed.

(xxxiii) A 4to note-book containing the manuscript of a play in five acts. Mrs. Piozzi has added the note "This Play written by Dr. Delap was committed to H. L. Piozzi's Care, 1790."

(xxxiv) A small 4to note-book containing a copy in an unidentified hand of "An Elegy on a Pile of Ruins. By J. Cunningham"<sup>3</sup> and a Latin version of the same poem on opposite pages. It is followed by a letter from "The Translator" "To Christopher Anstey, Esq."

(xxxv) Early page proofs of the first thirty-two pages of Dr. Johnson's Preface to his edition of *The Plays of William Shakespeare*, published in 1765. There are many corrections in Johnson's

<sup>1</sup> See Gregorio Mayans y Siscar, *Vida de Cervantes Saavedra*, (1738).

<sup>2</sup> See C.-F. Dumouriez, *Tableau Spéculatif de l'Europe*, 1798; a translation was published in London the same year.

<sup>3</sup> John Cunningham (1729-73).



hand, and a comparison with the text of the version finally published shows that further considerable alterations in proof were afterwards made. There were two editions of Johnson's *Shakespeare*<sup>1</sup> in 1765, varying considerably in *format* and pagination, and the proofs are, of course, those of the original edition.

The importance of this collection of Mrs. Piozzi's manuscripts is evident from the above brief outline of its contents. Its greatest general interest lies, of course, in the contributions it makes to our knowledge of Dr. Johnson, for his dominant position in the literary society of eighteenth century England endows with interest all productions, however slight, of his pen. Any evidence of his activities and sayings and, in a lesser degree, any mention of him made by his contemporaries, distinguished and otherwise, is of value.

Many of the friends of Mrs. Thrale were also friends or acquaintances of Dr. Johnson, and, as was to be expected, the detailed examination necessary for the arrangement of the great piles of letters, many of them bundled together in a haphazard manner, sometimes with the leaves of individual letters widely separated, has revealed letter after letter containing references to him. New light is thrown on his life at Streatham Place, the house both Johnson and the Thrales loved to call "home." Numerous notes, written in his well-known hand, on letters, deeds and papers, show the great interest taken by him in all matters, both great and small, relating to the Salusbury and Thrale families. The letters to Johnson from Mrs. Thrale make clear his position in the Thrale household. He is the trusted friend and adviser, whose advice is sought on occasions both of business and domestic difficulty. It is to him that Mrs. Thrale turns after business worries in 1772 had seriously affected Mr. Thrale's health, temper, and outlook. Johnson himself, on the other hand, received, not the sycophantic attentions frequently the lot of the great, but the comforts and cares which usually fall only to the lot of a loved and revered member of the family circle.

A few passages, taken almost at random from Mrs. Thrale's letters will serve to illustrate this. In a report of a conversation with Perkins, the manager of Thrale's brewery, she writes :

<sup>1</sup> W. P. Courtney's *A bibliography of Samuel Johnson* describes the second edition.

"Would not one think, Dear Sir, that our Master's heart was without feeling, too? Perkins caught me alone yester morning and complained to me how coarsely Mr. Thrale treated poor Lester, whose life was made very unhappy by perpetual affronts, but charged me at the same time (only think) not to talk to our Master about it till we had consulted *Doct<sup>r</sup>. Johnson*, which, says he, I have long intended to tell you but never had an Opportunity. Well, Well, says I, you shall tell him yourself on Wednesday, in the meantime why should not I give Mr. Thrale a hint? He then beg'd my Pardon, was spoyl'd by my Condescension forsooth, or he could not thus take the Liberty to prescribe to me, but indeed giving Hints he held to be the wrong method, they were disregarded at the same Time they were disliked, and he was of Opinion that Mr. Thrale should not be talked to at all on this same Subject, unless it was done with some degree of earnestness, and this Notion of his, as it grew out of what had many Times dropt from Doctor Johnson in Conversations he had lately had the honour to be a hearer in, he flattered himself it would obtain his Approbation. Bravo Mr. Perkins, thought I, and how finely some Folks come forward by Indulgence! but the Man has really good Parts, as you always said, and I don't know but he may be right in this particular. Is he?"

Or again,

"Do huff my Master and comfort him by Turns according to your own Dear Discretion; he has consulted you now, and given you a Right to talk with him about his ill-Tim'd Melancholy, and do keep your Influence over him for all our sakes."

A long letter of June 29th, 1775, concludes :

"When will you come home? I shall be wondrous glad to see you, though I write everything so I shall have nothing to tell; but I shall have you safe in your Bow window to run to, when anything comes in my head, and you say that's what you are kept for, you know."

On November 7, 1777, she writes :

"My Master stands over me and bids me say that if you are pretty *fresh* and *well*, and have a Mind to save his Credit, and take a frolick, you might come hither on Fryday the fourteenth of this Month, dine with us on the Saturday, with Beauclerck on Sunday, Hamilton on Monday, and return with us to Streatham on the Tuesday the eighteenth, which is the Day we have fixed upon to leave this Place. Mr. Thrale says you will not understand what is meant by *saving his Credit*, but it is because he had promised those two Gentlemen the Pleasure of seeing you this Season.

Mr. Thrale is *fresh and well himself*, I am sure, he hunts and eats and sleeps very comfortably, and has got the *vive hodie* pretty strongly impressed upon *him*. We spend our Money merrily I know, I fret sometimes about it, but I never grumble, and desire you make no Answer to this part of my Letter, for Prosperity fanneth Wrath, and I caught my

Master listening this very Day at the Door when Scrase and I had a Teste a Teste."

A letter of September 16th in the same year, written about the time that Johnson was considering a Baltic expedition, is in a vein characteristic of the lady to whom Johnson writes: "Never imagine that your letters are long; they are always too short for my curiosity. I do not know that I was ever content with a single perusal."<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Thrale writes:

"Mr. Boswell will make Ashbourne alive better than three Haut-boys and the Harpsichord; and in Seward's Phrase, will *do more* for one. A propos Mr. Seward is come back, but in such Pain with his Teeth & Face that he can neither talk in the Day nor he says—sleep in the Night. He only tells that he likes Scotch Hospitality and Welch Castles, that Myddelton is erecting an Urn I think to your Memory at Gwynnynog, and that your Friend the Schoolmaster at Beaumaris remembers your meeting with Delight. My Aunt is coming from Bath, but if my Uncle was coming from the Grave my Master says he would stick to his Word and go to Brighthelmstone on the 30th. You have it seems longer Journeys in *Contemplation*, but remember Mr. Boswell has a Wife and Children, and you have Friends at Streatham who love you more than many a Man is loved by his Wife and Children."

Mrs. Thrale kept Johnson entertained with lively reports of all her activities. There is, for instance, an amusing account of a meeting at Bath in May, 1780, with the famous blue-stocking, Elizabeth Montagu, of whom Johnson said "She diffuses more knowledge than any woman I know, or, indeed, almost any man." Mrs. Thrale writes:

"Mrs Montagu and I meet somewhere every night. People think they must not ask one of us without the other, and there they sit gaping while we talk. I left it to her for the first fortnight and she harangued the Circles herself, till I heard of private Discussions why Mrs. Thrale, who was so willing to talk at other Times, was so silent in Mrs. Montagu's Company—then I began, and now we talk away regularly when there is no Musick, and the folks look so stupid, except one or two who I have a Notion lie by to laugh, and write Letters to their Sisters etc. at home about us."

The letters from Mrs. Thrale to Johnson from 1782 onwards, which now survive, are not very numerous. In November, 1784, Johnson said to Fanny Burney, "If I meet with one of her letters I burn it instantly. I have burnt all I can find." It is clear, however, that she was a regular correspondent, for among the twenty unpub-

<sup>1</sup> See Birkbeck Hill, *Letters*, vol. i., pp. 216-217.

lished letters from Johnson, for example, three letters are dated December 16th, 1782, December 17th, 1782, and December 18th, 1782. The answering of Johnson's letters must have proved exacting, for during these years he was an ailing man and usually writes at length about his sufferings. This is reflected in a letter of Mrs. Thrale's, written on April 17th, 1784 :

Your comical Account of your own Voracity, reached me just as the Salmon came in today, pray accept this very fine one, till Pipers and Dorees come in. Eat away, my dear Sir, and fear no Colour; you will get Strength *by* your Food, and then your Mind will be got Strong too, and you will *scorn* your food—the old Fate of those who help'd in the early Periods of a Struggle, and are thrown away when Struggle subsists no longer. I shall live to be served so myself perhaps, by Puppets who could scarcely have play'd their little parts well, had not I pulled the Strings for them at the beginning of the Evening; but then perhaps I may live on, and see them all thrown into a dirty Basket together when the Show is quite over—and the Managers run out of the Village for fear of Debts. . . . You think now all about yourself, continue to do so, dear Sir. I know no one better worth thinking on."

There is also what was perhaps the last letter between Johnson and Mrs. Thrale. It was sent by Mrs. Thrale from Bath and is dated July 15th, 1784. The signature has been very vigorously crossed out later. This letter, the tone of which is very much to the writer's credit, is given here in full.

"Not only my good Wishes but my most fervent Prayers for your Health and Consolation shall for ever attend and follow my dear Mr. Johnson. Your last Letter is sweetly kind, and I thank you for it most sincerely. Have no Fears for me however; no *real* Fears. My Pizzi will need few Perswasions to settle in a Country where he has succeeded so well; but he longs to show me to his Italian Friends, and he wishes to restore my Health by treating me with a Journey to many Places I have long wish'd to see: his disinterested Conduct towards me in pecuniary Matters, his Delicacy in giving me up all past Promises when we were separated last year by great Violence in Argyle Street, are Pledges of his Affection and Honour. He is a religious Man, a sober Man, and a Thinking Man—he will not injure me, I am sure he will not, let nobody injure him in your good Opinion which he is most solicitous to obtain and preserve, and the harsh Letter you wrote me at first grieved him to the very heart. Accept his Esteem, my dear Sir, do; and his Promise to treat with long continued Respect and Tenderness the Friend whom you once honoured with your Regard and who will never cease to be, my dear Sir, Your truly affectionate and faithful servt."

A postscript adds :

"The Lawyers delay of finishing our Settlements, and the necessity of twenty-six days Residence, has kept us from being married till now. I hope your Health is mending."<sup>1</sup>

One other manuscript relating to Johnson may be singled out for notice. This is Mrs. Thrale's Journal of the French tour of 1775,<sup>2</sup> on which the Thrales were accompanied by Johnson and Baretti. Their visit lasted two months, and Johnson's own surviving notes, printed by Boswell, only cover twenty-six days, from October 10th to November 4th inclusive. Mrs. Thrale was naturally more concerned with recording her own impressions rather than those of Johnson, but his activities are frequently mentioned. One or two passages will illustrate this.

On September 22nd we are told :

"Mr Johnson has made a little Distich at every Place we have slept at, for example,

A Calais.	St Omer.	Arras.
Trop de frais.	Tout est cher.	Helas !
A Amiens.	Au Mouton.	
On n'a rien.	Rien de Bon.	

The Sign of the Mouton D'or a(t) Neuf Chatel."

Part of the entry for September 27th runs :

"These Reflexions are interrupted by the Recollection of a Frightful Accident which befel the Carriage in which were Mr. Thrale, Baretti, and the Girl. Their Postillion fell off his Horse on a Strong Descent, the Traces were broken, one of the Horses run over and the Chaise carried forward with a most dangerous Rapidity which Mr. Thrale not being able to endure till somebody came up—jumped out with intent to stop the Horses for Baretti and Queeney. However, he only hurt himself and they went on till Sam came up, who had been miserably embarrassed with a vicious Horse which had retarded him so long, and afterwards flung him. This was therefore a day of Distress, and my Master found himself so ill when we arrived at St. Germain's that the Surgeon he sent for advised him to go on to Paris and get himself bled, and take a good deal of Rest, which he hoped would restore him. He left us therefore at St. Germain's and Mr. Baretti kindly went with him to give him Assistance and get us some

<sup>1</sup> This is probably the "very kind and affectionate letter" (Hayward's *Autobiography*, i, 114) which Mrs. Piozzi says was sent in reply to Johnson's of July 8th (*Letters*, ii, 407-409).

<sup>2</sup> This is being edited and it is hoped will shortly appear among the John Rylands Library publications.



Habitation to receive us at Paris. Dr. Johnson's perfect unconcern for the Lives of three People, who would all have felt for his, shocked and amaz'd me—but that, as Baretti says, is true Philosophy."

On the 29th she writes :

We have made it all up with Johnson, who protests it was not unconcern for Mr. Thrale but anger at me that made him sullenly forbear Enquiry, when he found me unwilling (as he thought it) to give him a ready or rational Answer."

On November 6th we are told :

"This morning Mr. Johnson had a mind to dispute with me concerning the High Mass we saw celebrating at Douay and whether we might not have staid through the whole Ceremony and seen the Elevation of the Host. If you had staid, says Barreti, you must have kneel'd. I have no scruples, said I, I was willing enough to kneel. Johnson said he would not have knelt on such an occasion for the whole city of Douay."

Mrs. Thrale is occasionally very severe on the French. This appears in her account of a visit to dine with Madame de Bocage on October 5th :

"The Morning was spent in adjusting our Ornaments in order to dine with Madame de Bocage at 2 o'clock. There was a showy Dinner with a Frame in the middle, and she gave us an English Pudding made after the Receipt of the Dutchess of Queensbury. We saw nothing particularly pleasing at this Visit but the beauty of Madame de Bocages Niece, the Countess of Blanchetre, whose husband was so handsome too—that being a Frenchman—I wonder'd. In the course of Conversation, however, he turned out an Italian, and there was another Italian Nobleman who hailed Baretti and made himself agreeable to us all. Nothing would serve him but attend us at night to the Colissee which, after leaving our Names with the Sardinian Ambassadors, we were willing enough to permit. In Madame de Bocage's Drawing room stood the Busts of Shakespear, Milton, Pope and Dryden, the Lady sate on a Sopha with a fine Red Velvet Cushion fringed with Gold under her Feet and just over her Head a Cobweb of uncommon size & I am sure great Antiquity. A Pot to spit in, either of Pewter or Silver quite as black & ill-coloured, was on her Table, & when the Servant carried Coffee about he put in Sugar with his Fingers. The House these people live in is a fine one but so contrived that we were to pass through a sort of Hall where the Footmen were playing at Cards before we arrived at Madame's Chamber."

In concluding this brief report of the Piozzi MSS., which happily have now found a permanent home in the John Rylands Library,

Manchester, it is clear that they are invaluable, apart from their Johnsonian interest, as new materials relating to many prominent literary figures of the eighteenth century, Boswell, the Burneys, Goldsmith, Garrick and others. It is evident, also, that notwithstanding the excellent works done in the past on Mrs. Thrale herself, much remains to be done, and that a just and comprehensive estimate of her character, work, and position in English literature is now possible. Many of the papers preserved are in themselves of little value. It is only when they are viewed as a whole that they take on a new significance, and serve to show that this "lively feather-headed lady" had a great capacity for work and a reserve of zealously acquired knowledge not approached by that of some of her less attractive but more sober-minded critics.

## WOODBROOKE STUDIES.

CHRISTIAN DOCUMENTS IN SYRIAC, ARABIC, AND GARSHŪNĪ,  
EDITED AND TRANSLATED WITH A CRITICAL APPARATUS.

BY A. MINGANA.

FASCICULUS 9.

### THE WORK OF DIONYSIUS BARŠALĪBĪ AGAINST THE ARMENIANS.

#### PREFATORY NOTE.

IN the following pages I give the text and translation, accompanied by a critical apparatus, of Baršalibi's treatise against the Armenians. Manuscripts containing this work are so rare that none is definitely known to Baumstark.<sup>1</sup> The work adds much to our knowledge in the matter of early Christian controversies, and throws into relief very forcibly the theological views of the Christian communities with which it deals, as reflected in their dogmatic and abstract beliefs and in their ecclesiastical morality.

The first two chapters give a short sketch of the political and religious history of the Armenians, whom the author shows to have strong leaning towards the doctrine of the Phantasiasts as promulgated by Julian of Halicarnassus and propagated by Felicissimus<sup>2</sup> and others. This propagandist (whose history has still to be written) apparently misrepresented the Severan doctrine of the corruptibility and incorruptibility of the body of Christ, and in this way gained for a time a firm footing among the Armenians. Baršalibi is at some pains to prove that the body of Christ was, as a true human body, corruptible till the time of His death, but that the body of the dead and risen Christ is and will remain for ever incorruptible.

<sup>1</sup> *Geschichte d. Syr. Lit.*, p. 297.

<sup>2</sup> In a MS. in the *British Museum* (p. 939 in Wright's *Catalogue*) Felicissimus is accused of forging the name of Peter of Alexandria.

In this connection the author rightly argues against the Phantasiasts and the Docetes that Christ ate and drank in reality and not figuratively only, and that He was truly circumcised like the rest of the Jews of His day. He endeavours also to show that since our Lord ate and drank in reality, He must have digested His food, and in this respect he refutes at some length the contention of the Armenians that "Christ's food was not digested like our own, but that it was consumed away like fire consumes matter." Against this Docetic teaching rises with vehemence the famous East Syrian poet Narsai: "Let the ranks of the Heretics stand up in shame, because they do not believe that the body of our Lord was a true body."<sup>1</sup> That the teaching of the Phantasiasts led by Julian of Halicarnassus was widely spread among the Armenians is also borne out by an independent East Syrian historian, John of Phenek, who writes thus: "The demon caused another offshoot, worse than the others, to rise among (the followers of Cyril) and this was the wicked Julian. . . . But the grace of the Lord threw him in the midst of an ignorant people, the heretical Armenians, by whom his teaching was accepted."<sup>2</sup>

After these two preliminary chapters the author embarks on his main theme, which consists in the exposition and refutation of the uncanonical customs and habits of the Armenians. According to the indications of the MS., these customs number thirty-three<sup>3</sup> (though they seem to number thirty-five) and mostly bear on the following subjects:

(1) They fast from morning till morning on Wednesdays and Fridays.

(2) They use unleavened bread for the Eucharist.

(3) They do not mix water with the Eucharistic wine.

(4) They sacrifice lambs at the feast of the Passover.

(5) They bless salt with prayers and canticles as if to sanctify their sacrifices with it.

(6) They believe that if a dog or a cat enter a church the latter becomes desecrated.

(7) They hold that if a mouse falls into food the latter becomes polluted.

<sup>1</sup> See my edition of the works of this Father in my *Narsai Homiliae et Carmina*, vol. i., p. 44.

<sup>2</sup> John of Phenek in my *Sources Syriacques*, ii., 141.

<sup>3</sup> They are written in figures on the margins of the MS.

(8) They pretend that a utensil that has been polluted should be broken up if it is made of earthenware, and that if it is made of metal it should only be purified with fire.

(9) They re-baptise the members of the other Christian denominations who join them.

(10) They make use of sesame oil in their holy Chrism.

(11) They do not allow anyone to sleep in their churches.

(12) They do not permit laymen to read the Gospels.

(13) They hold that laymen are not allowed to recite the Lord's Prayer.

(14) They refuse Holy Communion to repentant sinners for a long time.

(15) They baptise their crosses and Church bells.

(16) They make use of the Canonical Confession in a wrong way.

(17) They do not wash their hands in the Church at the beginning of the Mass.

(18) They celebrate the two festivals of the Nativity and the Epiphany in one day.

(19) They burn a wrong kind of incense in their Churches.

(20) They do not cross themselves with one finger only.

(21) They eat oil and ground sesame in Lent.

(22) They do not open the doors of their Churches at the time of the Offertory.

(23) They use holy Chrism for the purpose of healing ordinary wounds of men and beasts.

(24) They baptise after they have eaten.

(25) Their bishops and their monks eat meat.

(26) Their priests believe like the Jews that pork is unclean and consequently do not eat it.

(27) They have not the impediment of spiritual affinity in their marriages.

(28) They take the consecrated Host from the Chalice with their hands.

(29) They genuflect on Sundays and Pentecostal days.

(30) They transfer to a Sunday the celebration of all the commemorations and festivals, with the exception of the festival of the Epiphany.



- (31) Their priests bless their bishops.
- (32) They believe that leaven owes its origin to the digested food of Shem, son of Noah, or to that of Adam himself.
- (33) The ordination of their clergy in Cilicia is invalid as they receive it from the dead hand of St. Gregory the Illuminator.
- (34) They practise Simony in their ordinations.
- (35) They resort to the principle of heredity in the ordination of their high ecclesiastical dignitaries.

Judged by modern standards of theological value, the above list of ecclesiastical irregularities contains much that is trivial. It does exhibit, however, accusations of a rather serious character, which we see often repeated in later generations by the compilers of the hundred and seventeen accusations brought against the Armenians before the Pope Benedict XII.<sup>1</sup>

In 1904 Dr. Erwand Ter-Minassiantz collected all the information found in Syriac literature concerning the Armenians,<sup>2</sup> and his monograph (with some slight corrections) can be recommended to all critics, but in the light of the present work of Baršalibi it will naturally be considered incomplete. This is not surprising, because this famous Syrian prelate lived many years of his life in Melitene, among the Armenians, and thus must have acquired a more intimate knowledge of the inner working of the Armenian Church than many of his contemporaries. Tested by all standards of modern criticism, the author's account of the Armenians is on the whole reliable and accurate. I am not alluding here to his controversial method, nor to some slight exaggerations that one may detect in his narrative. The too zealous and vehement character of the ecclesiastical controversies of his day made these exaggerations almost inevitable, and the reader will do well sometimes to neglect the shell of his discourse and only pick the kernel of his theological and his historical data. Among these I will draw attention to the following :

1. The author fixes the date of the translation of the works of Syrian Fathers into Armenian, and attributes the first initiative for this

<sup>1</sup> Tournebize has detailed them in his *Histoire Politique et Religieuse de l'Arménie*, pp. 337-400. They are also found in Mansi, *Sacr. Concil. nova et ampl. collectio*, xxv., 1185-1270. See also Hefele, vi., 569-577.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Armenische Kirche in ihren Bez. zu d. Syr. Kirchen in Texte und Unters.* (N.F.), xi. Band, 4 Heft, pp. 1-212.

noble idea to the West Syrian Patriarch Athanasius (A.D. 724-740). He writes as follows :

“ And our Patriarch alienated to Ohannes<sup>1</sup> a monastery situated on the frontiers (of Syria and Armenia), and he placed therein Syrian and Armenian boys, who learnt both the Syriac and Armenian languages and translated the works of the Fathers from Syriac into Armenian.”

This interesting undertaking had good results, to which we owe among other things the survival of many Syriac treatises lost in our days in Syriac, but preserved in Armenian.

2. The author is evidently in favour of receiving the Holy Communion frequently, and answers thus the objection of the Armenians who, on the plea that “ we are not worthy to partake of it at all times,” precluded recent penitents from participating in it :

“ If you are not worthy of it to-day, show us when you will be. Every day we live we add sins to our sins, and there is no one that would be pure before God even if he were to live one hour only. The sun and the stars are not pure before Him. Paul calls himself ‘ off-scouring,’ and David a ‘ worm,’ and Abraham ‘ dust.’ As the body is not able to live without bread, so the soul is not able to live without communion. . . . As the one who receives baptism is called the son of the Father, so also the one who receives communion is united to Christ. As a piece of bread that is thrown into wine imbibes it, so also the one who partakes of the Sacrament imbibes holiness and life from the Holy Communion.”

These are strong and far-reaching words.

3. The author is amazingly well versed in Patristics. Indeed, so accurate is his knowledge in this matter that one is almost tempted to believe that he knew his Greek and Syrian Fathers by heart. I have verified all his quotations in Migne’s *Patrologia Græca*, and the labour that such verifications often entail has not been without utility to me, as it has refreshed my memory in a subject that by force of circumstances I had for a time to neglect. I would further add that the author has preserved for us passages of Fathers of whose works we have only fragmentary knowledge. As such I would mention his quotations from Hippolytus of Rome, Theophilus of Alexandria, and, to a lesser degree, Gregory Nazianzen.

<sup>1</sup> The Armenian Catholics. *Ohannes* means “ John.”

Barṣalibi seems also to have had an intimate knowledge of the early Synods and Canons of the Church, both genuine and spurious, and to have been at home in such important Christian books as the *Didascalia* and the Clementine literature both in their Greek and Syriac garb.

4. As referred to above, the author's polemical style reflects the drift of the age in which he lived, and is occasionally marked by undue severity. This is especially the case in the section dealing with the strange opinion that some Armenians of his day had of the origin of leaven. Against the Armenian character in general he quotes the famous sentence of St. Gregory Nazianzen, called by Eastern writers "the Theologian" *par excellence*: "I do not find that the Armenians are a simple and open race, but rather a secretive and deceitful one."<sup>1</sup> Whatever truth there is in this verdict of a great Father of the Universal Church, no serious historian of the Eastern Churches will easily forget the inhuman sufferings which, in defiance of all the laws of God and man, were recently inflicted on the Armenians. Indeed in many provinces of the now defunct Ottoman Empire, it is the children of Thorgom, as the author is pleased to call them, who bore the brunt of a politico-religious fanaticism that is foreign to Qur'ānic teaching, and lifted high the torch of faith and of the ancient Christian virtue of endurance.

In 1927 I published another polemical work by Barṣalibi,<sup>2</sup> in the "Prefatory Note" to which I stated that in view of the author's too concise style and too disconnected reasoning, I had to sacrifice on the altar of clearness my predilection for literal translations. Happily this difficulty is generally absent from the present treatise, and my rendering of it is consequently less free than that I was forced to adopt for its predecessor.<sup>3</sup>

At the end of the present treatise (as the last folio of the facsimile reproductions shows) is another anti-Armenian treatise by Barṣalibi, which occupies ff. 42<sup>a</sup> (middle)—99 of the MS. I had intended to publish this work also, but after having perused it carefully I came to

<sup>1</sup> *Pat. Gr.*, xxxvi., ii., 518.

<sup>2</sup> *Woodbrooke Studies*, vol. i., pp. 17-95.

<sup>3</sup> In 1925 I published also the second part of Barṣalibi's work against the Mohammedans under the title of *An Ancient Syriac Translation of the Qur'ān*.

the conclusion that its contents did not warrant its immediate publication. It gives the controversial work of the author against Kewark or Gregory ii, the Armenian Catholicos (A.D. 1065-1105), who had endeavoured to refute a theological treatise by the West Syrian Patriarch John bar Shūshan who died in 1073. It mostly deals with the vexed questions concerning the use of leavened or unleavened bread in the Eucharist and whether a fast extends from the morning of the fast day or from the evening of the preceding day, questions discussed at some length in the present treatise.

The Syriac text here given in facsimile is that contained in a MS. of my collection numbered Mingana Syriac 347.<sup>1</sup>

### TRANSLATION.

*By the power of the Lord of all, which cannot be weakened, I will begin to write the fifth book<sup>2</sup> of Mar Dionysius (Barṣalibi) against the heresy of the Phantasiasts from which sprang the creed of the Armenians, and against the practices in which the latter indulge.*

### CHAPTER I.

*Of the treatise against the (Armenian) nation, on when it embraced the Christian faith.*

The Armenians descend from Togarma,<sup>3</sup> their first father. They are called Armenians from the name of the Great and Septentrional Armenia, which was the habitat of their fathers. They were pagans down to the time of the Emperor Constantine, and they worshipped idols along with Țurātaṭis<sup>4</sup> their King. They were evangelised by the

<sup>1</sup> For a description of the MS. see pp. 644-645 of my forthcoming Syriac catalogue.

<sup>2</sup> The author refers to his controversial works against the Jews, the Muslims, the Nestorians, and the Chalcedonians, which constitute four separate books.

<sup>3</sup> This is probably *Thorgoma*, the legendary father of the Armenians, spoken of by Moses of Khorene in his history, cap. v., and vii.-xii. See Tournebize, *Histoire polit. et relig. de l'Arménie*, p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> This is probably the King Tiridates converted by Gregory the Illuminator. See Sabeos' *Life of Heraclius*, i., iii., 33 and Tournebize, *Histoire*, pp. 50-59, etc.

illustrious Gregory (the Illuminator), as the history of the latter shows. After he had evangelised them he went to Leontius,<sup>1</sup> bishop of Caesarea of Cappadocia, from whom he received priesthood, which he introduced to them. They increased gradually in the fear of God, and they received the teaching of St. Ephrem the Syrian and of other (Syrian Fathers), and also the teaching of the Greek Doctors such as Basil and Gregory and others.

When the Council of Chalcedon which divided Christ into two natures took place, they fell out with the Chalcedonians and joined us. A long time after sprang the heresy of Julian of Halicarnassus, which resembled the doctrine of Mani and taught (that the body of our Lord was) a resemblance only and a phantasm. Many nations were deceived by it, and it was disseminated among the Armenians by Felicissimus and others who followed the teaching of Julian. These detracted before them St. Severus and misrepresented him in the matter of "corruption"<sup>2</sup> (as applied to the body of our Lord), which is used in two different ways, the first of which with regard to hunger, thirst and death, and the second with regard to the dissolution and the decomposition<sup>3</sup> of the elements from which the body is composed. They said that Severus did not teach that the body of Christ was corruptible as the word is used in the first way only,<sup>4</sup> that is to say that it suffered hunger, thirst and death, but that he taught that the same body of Christ suffered dissolution and decomposition in the tomb.

After having deceived the Armenians for a long time (Felicissimus and others) spread the doctrine of the Phantasiasts everywhere. St. Severus, however, in his numerous controversies against Julian and his followers, exposed their error and showed that the body of Christ from His birth to His resurrection was called corruptible, because it

<sup>1</sup> This Leontius seems to have been a kind of a Metropolitan having jurisdiction over the churches of Cappadocia and of the Great and Little Armenia. See Gelasius in Mansi, *Sacr. Conc. Coll.*, ii., 929, and Tournebize, *Histoire*, p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> About the various uses of this word see below.

<sup>3</sup> The two words, ܐܬܬܠܚܕܐ ܐܬܬܠܚܕܐ, which are more or less illegible in Mingana Syr. 347, have been supplied from Mingana Syr. 215 (fol. 305 b).

<sup>4</sup> Here also the words ܐܬܬܠܚܕܐ ܐܬܬܠܚܕܐ which owing to a hole have disappeared from M. 347, have been supplied in the translation from M. 215 (*ibid.*).



ate and drank and suffered pains, but it did not suffer dissolution and corruption in the tomb. Afterwards learned Doctors convinced the Armenians and brought them back to the truth.

Some ignorant men amongst them hold leaven or leavened bread to be corruptible, but unleavened bread incorruptible. Some of them apply also the word "corruption" to the natural function of digestion, and pretend that Christ did not eat like everybody else, and that He was not circumcised. Against their teachers and their head of the present day we rose in our books and demonstrated to them from the teaching of the Doctors that Christ was truly circumcised, that He truly ate and drank whenever He wished, and that He did everything like us apart from sin. Indeed in another book divided into three parts, subdivided into chapters, and in yet another book entitled *Theology*<sup>1</sup> and elsewhere we have refuted their objections at some length. Here we will only deal succinctly with these same (objections) and will dilate more especially on their disorderly practices.

They pretend that if Christ ate, He was obliged to do so, that is to say He ate by necessity. About all these we will say :—

"Because we are men only we are compelled by nature, even if we do not like it, to eat and drink and eject our digested food, and also to suffer from blameless infirmities and to die according to the law of nature. Christ, however, because He was not only man but God incarnate, who assumed our body and soul together with the natural and blameless infirmities, whenever and wherever He wished He caused His body and His soul to feel their natural and blameless infirmities for our sake, as He had become flesh in our behalf. He was the Word, the master of His body and of His soul, and whenever He wished He placed them high above the law of nature, and whenever He wished He allowed them to follow the law of nature. By doing the latter He confuted those who contend that He was not a true man but a similitude and a phantasm of one, and by doing the things that are high above the law of nature, He refuted<sup>2</sup> the theory of those who believed that He was only a man and not God incarnate."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. on this work that appears to be lost Baumstark's *Ges. d. Syr. Lit.*, p. 296. The reference that Baumstark makes to MS. 23 of Edessa as possibly containing a copy of this work is erroneous, as that MS. contains a Garshūni work by another writer.

<sup>2</sup> Read *makkis*.

They ask : "Has the body (of Christ) assumed the (attributes) of the Word-God from the Union (in the Incarnation) or not?" Concerning this we say :—

"He assumed some of them from this Union and some others at the time of His resurrection, and some others He will never assume. From this Union the Word established in His soul and in His body the power of healing all manner of ailments and sickness, spiritual and corporeal, and He also made His natural body as giver of life, and rendered it worthy of adoration and holy, and also remote from all sinful thought and act. He, however, left it liable to sufferings and to death till the time of His resurrection, in order that in suffering and dying in it He might obtain for us impassibility and immortality. He thus granted to it at His resurrection what it had not assumed at His Union, namely impassibility, immortality and incorruptibility. The Word who was the absolute master granted to His soul and to His body that which He wished and at the time He wished. He did not receive nor was He given anything from anyone. Neither at the time of His Union nor at the time of His resurrection nor at the present moment has He made His body uncreated and uncircumscribed in essence like Himself, nor consubstantial with the Father, nor eternal without beginning and end like Himself."

The Julianists ask also : "Is the body (of Christ) God or not?" Concerning this we say :—

"In essence the body is a body and not God, but by its Union with God it is not only body but also God."

And they add : "If the body is not God in essence, how can it be one nature?" Against them we say :—

"If the body is in essence God, and the God-Word is God in essence, in what will Christ then be a man when He is God in His body and God in His Godhead?"

The Armenians say : "We fear to hold that the body of Christ is corruptible." Against them we say :—

"Corruption is said in different ways as we have demonstrated in our work entitled *Rudiments*<sup>1</sup> and on the *Spiritual and Corporeal Natures*.<sup>2</sup> Sin is called corruption, as in the sentence : 'For all

<sup>1</sup> The word *pāsīkātha* may have another meaning according to the context.

<sup>2</sup> This work seems to be lost.

flesh had corrupted his way ; <sup>1</sup> and punishment is also called corruption, as in the sentence : ' And behold I will destroy <sup>2</sup> them with the earth ; ' and the dissolution of the body in the grave is also called corruption, as in the sentence : ' And Thou, O God, cast them down into the pit of corruption.' <sup>3</sup> In none of these senses do we call the body of our Lord corruptible, because it did not commit any sin and prevarication, nor did it suffer dissolution in the grave. Even hunger is called corruption, as in the sentence : ' They disfigure their faces that they may appear unto men to fast.' <sup>4</sup> The blameless passions (are also referred to by the word corruption) as in the sentence : ' Though our outward man perish, etc.' <sup>5</sup> Even the separation of the soul from the body is spoken of by the word ' corruption.' "

We do not say that the body (of Christ) was incorruptible before His resurrection in the sense that it was precluded by the Word from suffering dissolution, but we say it was corruptible in the sense that death is called corruption, and also in the sense that hunger, thirst, the thrusting of the nails in it, sadness, tribulations, and such like are called corruption. The Doctors call the body of our Lord corruptible because of the blameless infirmities to which it was liable down to the time of its resurrection. Cyril of Alexandria said in the second book of *Thesaurus* : " Because He took a corruptible and mortal body, subject to infirmities, by necessity He made His own the body and its infirmities." <sup>6</sup> And the Theologian <sup>7</sup> shows in his discourse on baptism that the impassible and the incorruptible is the one who is not mortal. <sup>8</sup> These will suffice for our demonstration of the different kinds of corruption.

<sup>1</sup> Gen. vi. 12.

<sup>2</sup> The Syr. verb used in this verse (Gen. vi. 13) literally means " I will corrupt them " in the sense of " I will destroy them."

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ezek. xxxii. 18.

<sup>4</sup> Matt. vi. 16. The Syr. verb used in this verse means literally " *they corrupt their faces.*"

<sup>5</sup> 2 Cor. iv. 16. The Syriac word for " perish " is " be corrupt."

<sup>6</sup> *Patr. Gr.*, lxxv., viii., 1378.

<sup>7</sup> Gregory Nazianzen.

<sup>8</sup> *Pat. Gr.*, xxxvi., 366.

## CHAPTER II.

*Against the Armenians who lean towards the doctrine of the Phantasiasts.*

Let us now come to other subjects. The Armenians say : "Although Christ ate as we do, we do not say that His food was digested like our own, but that this same food was consumed away like fire consumes matter."

We have demonstrated above that we eat by necessity and consequently eject the digested food also by necessity, and that Christ was free to make Himself hungry and eat whenever He wished, and not by necessity like ourselves. That He ate in reality, and not like fire which consumes the sacrifices, is borne out first by the great Basil, who says in his discourse on the Eucharist thus :—

"As our Lord bore hunger because His real food was digested, and as He bore thirst when the humidity of His body had given way, and as He felt fatigue when His muscles and nerves were tired by the fatigue of the journey, while His divinity was not affected by fatigue but His body only was receiving the effects of the human nature, so also He was affected by tears when He allowed His body to bear a natural infirmity."<sup>1</sup>

And Gregory, bishop of Nyssa, the brother of Basil, said in the fourteenth chapter of his discourse on exhortation :<sup>2</sup> "Christ never came near to sinful affections ; as to the blameless affections, those which should not in reality be called affections, He experienced them in the receptacle of the body. There is an affection which is rightly called so, and there is one which is so figuratively only. The affection which touches the freewill of the mind and turns it from virtue to vice is a true affection, but the one which is in nature and follows the order of nature, is in reality an act and not an affection. As such are birth, growth, the sustentation of the body by the assumption and ejection of food, the concourse of the elements through the body,<sup>3</sup> the dissolution of that which was composed, and its return to its former elements. Which of these two kinds of affection does the mystery (of our religion)

<sup>1</sup> *Pat. Gr.*, xxxi., 228-229.

<sup>2</sup> The quotation is from the *Oratio Catechetica*.

<sup>3</sup> The Greek is ἡ τῶν στοιχείων περὶ τὸ σῶμα συνδρομή.

say that God has received? Is it the affection that is a true affection and sinful, or that other which is a movement that is in nature? If our speech should affirm that God was in those affections that are blameable, we would be obliged to flee from the absurdity of such a teaching, as it would be announcing something incongruous to the Divine nature. If it should affirm that God put on our nature the origin and the substance of which had their beginning from Him, where does the teaching differ from the conception that befits God since in opinions about Him no affection of passibility enters into the faith?<sup>1</sup> We do not say that a physician is affected when he heals somebody who is affected (with malady). Even when the healer comes near the disease he is believed to be outside affection.”<sup>2</sup>

Think, O you who ignorantly lean towards the doctrine of the Phantasiasts, and see that (this Father) teaches that Christ received birth and growth—which means that He grew in His body—and that He ate and ejected the digested food. He demonstrates also that the true affection is that of sin, and to this Christ never came near. This Doctor calls birth, eating, and ejection of food mere (human) acts, and these Christ performed and fulfilled. To show that He became a man He did all these things, but not forcibly and unwillingly, or at all times and continually, but whenever He desired and wished.

Those who believe in the teaching of the Phantasiasts recoil from saying that the flesh of Emmanuel was formed from the blood of Mary. Against them stands the wise man who wrote: “I was fashioned into flesh in the womb of my mother while I was in it formed of blood for ten months.” We are shown in this quotation that the flesh of everyone is formed of the blood of his mother. But the Armenians ought to hear what Paul wrote about Christ: “Because the children were partakers of flesh and blood, He also Himself likewise took part of the same;”<sup>3</sup> but our Lord was not born like us of a blood mixed with the will of the flesh and the intercourse of man. This St. John (Chrysostom) demonstrates in the second discourse of his commentary on Matthew: “He received birth not of blood nor of will of man and flesh but of the Holy Spirit.”<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Pat. Gr.*, xlv., 50. The Greek *πάθος* (affection) and its derivatives run through all this extract from Gregory Nyssen.

<sup>2</sup> This sentence is rather complicated, both in the Greek text and in its Syriac translation.

<sup>3</sup> *Heb.* ii. 14.

<sup>4</sup> *Pat. Gr.*, lvii., i., 26.



That the flesh of the Word was fashioned from the virginal blood of the Virgin, is borne out by the great Dionysius, who says in the third discourse : "We do not understand how Jesus was fashioned and formed of the blood of the Virgin in a supernatural way."<sup>1</sup> And Theophilus of Alexandria says : "Christ who saved us was not defiled and polluted when He strengthened His flesh by a virginal blood, in His anthropophile union with us."<sup>2</sup>

The Phantasiasts say : "Christ was not circumcised in reality, because the custom of the Israelites was to slit the foreskin into two and not to circumcise it or cut off anything from it."

Against them stands Paul who says : "Jesus Christ was a minister of the circumcision to confirm the promises made to the fathers."<sup>3</sup>

In this he shows that He was really and fully, and not figuratively, circumcised. And John (Chrysostom) says in the twenty-eighth discourse of his commentary on the Romans : "When (Paul) speaks of the minister of circumcision he means that He came and fulfilled all the law and was circumcised."<sup>4</sup> And Cyril of Alexandria says in his commentary on Luke : "He fulfilled circumcision and received His name at that time. Christ was circumcised on the eighth day and He received His name, as I said."<sup>5</sup> And the Theologian says in the discourse on Pentecost : "He was circumcised."<sup>6</sup> In this he meant that He was truly circumcised. These will suffice.

### CHAPTER III.

#### *Against the Armenians.*

Following the subject that we have in hand we will proceed to write against the customs which the Armenians are holding illegally as from themselves only, and against some other habits which they have received from the old and shadowy law, after the appearance of the sun of righteousness.

The Armenians, the Greeks and some others are in a general habit of saying : "The day precedes the night, and light darkness,"

<sup>1</sup> *Pat. Gr.*, iii., 648.

<sup>2</sup> This quotation is not found *verbatim* in the extracts from Theophilus of Alexandria found in *Pat. Gr.*, lxx., 33-68.

<sup>3</sup> *Rom.* xv. 8.

<sup>4</sup> *Pat. Gr.*, lx., ix., 649.

<sup>5</sup> *Pat. Gr.*, lxxii., v., 497.

<sup>6</sup> Gregory Nazianzen, *Pat. Gr.*, xxxvi., ii., 436.

and for this reason they begin their fast from the morning, and not from the evening of Wednesday and Friday. They begin to fast from the morning of Wednesday and Friday, and<sup>1</sup> abstain till the morning of the next day. The Syrians, however, say that the night precedes the day and darkness the light, and for this reason they begin (their fast) in the evening of Wednesday and Friday and they abstain also from the evening of these days.

Two points which have disturbed the above nations need to be investigated here. The first point is the question whether the night precedes the day or the day the night, and the second point is the question whether it would be better to fast on the eve of the coming Wednesday and Friday or on the eve of the day on which these two days end.

All Doctors do not agree among themselves on these two points. Some of them hold that the night precedes the day and some of them favour the day. Moses said in the Torah: "And the evening and the morning were the first day,"<sup>2</sup> that is to say, the end of twenty-four hours, because by the word *evening* he means *night*, and by the word *morning* he refers to *day*, and the word "Yauma"<sup>3</sup> embraces, as we have said, both night and day, and includes the complete course of twenty-four hours. It is day when the sun is above the earth, and this takes twelve hours; and it is night when the sun is under the earth,<sup>4</sup> and this also takes twelve hours.

St. John Chrysostom and St. Basil declare that the day precedes the night, but by this they do not enact that one should fast from the morning, as the habit of fasting in the evening of Friday and Wednesday is not ancient. They say that the day precedes the night simply because the day is luminous, and God, as the Theologian<sup>5</sup> asserts, being light, He must have begun the work of creation in light. John (Chrysostom) says thus in his *Hexaemeron*: "'And the evening and the morning were the first day.' Moses means by 'evening' the end of the day, and by 'morning' the end of the night.'"<sup>6</sup> And he said this in the sense that the day and the night marked the

<sup>1</sup> Read *w-lā*. <sup>2</sup> Gen. i. 5.

<sup>3</sup> A Semitic word embracing both night and day.

<sup>4</sup> The author naturally writes in the light of the astronomical science of his day.

<sup>5</sup> Gregory Nazianzen. *Pat. Gr.*, xxxvii., 439.

<sup>6</sup> *Pat. Gr.*, liii., 35.

end of one day, because he says that the day precedes the night. Other Doctors, however, say that (Moses) means by "evening" the night, and by "morning" the day, and that "evening" and "morning" signify the completion of a whole day, but as we have said above, St. Basil and St. John Chrysostom say that the day precedes the night.

The darkness that was upon the face of the deep before light was created, is not called night but darkness, and when Moses said that "the evening was" he does not refer to that darkness by this word "evening." If Moses had said that "the evening was" before the creation of the light, it might have been possible to conjecture that by the word "evening" he referred to that darkness, but since Moses said that "the evening was" after the creation of light, it is clear that he did not call the evening by the word darkness, but that he meant the completion of the first day. This becomes evident by the fact that after it was called light and after this light had completed its hours, he said that "the evening was."

Not only Moses called the completion of the day "evening," but also the evangelists who said: "In the evening of the Sabbath towards the dawn of the first day of the week,"<sup>1</sup> and: "The same day at evening being the first day of the week."<sup>2</sup> The reason for this lies in the fact that there is a difference between evening and morning, and between day and night. It is "evening" when the light of the day ends, and it is only when the light goes under the earth that it is "night." Evening, therefore, designates the end of the day, and morning the end of the night. The darkness that was upon the face of the deep before the creation of the light is not called night but darkness. When light was created this very light was called day, and afterwards when darkness followed it this very darkness was called night.

The above Doctors have, however, asserted that the day precedes the night, because they have said that the night that precedes the evening of Saturday is the night of Friday.

If one were allowed to take objection to the assertion of the above Doctors one might say: If according to your judgment the night precedes the day, why then were the children of Israel ordered to

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xxviii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> John xx. 19.

begin the Passover from the evening and the night of the preceding day? Similarly, why do we Christians begin to celebrate the festival of the Resurrection and other festivals from the evening and the night that precede them?

Some Greeks and Armenians answer thus: "According to the rule of the sun the day precedes the night, and according to the rule of the moon the night precedes the day. The Jews began their Passover according to the lunar computation, and in a like manner we also celebrate the Resurrection of our Lord on the fourteenth of the month first in the night and then in the day." In this, however, they are not right because we do not begin to celebrate any festival, with the exception of the festival of the Resurrection, from the morning, but from the preceding evening and night.

They add also: "When Moses says 'And the evening and the morning were the first day' he was not speaking in lunar computation because the moon was not yet created. He spoke according to the rule of light, and because this light disappeared after it had finished its hours, he said 'and the morning was.'"

This objection is not good because it is not the moon that is the cause of days and nights nor of mornings and evenings, but it is only the cause and the reason of the months. We say that the night precedes the day, and this is borne out by the fact that God ordered the Jews to observe the Sabbath, and for this purpose Moses taught them to cease work from the evening. Taking this into consideration the Christians begin also to observe the festival of the Resurrection and other festivals from the evening that precedes their respective days. Our Lord also rose from the tomb in the night of Easter before the day, and not in the night after the day.

If they were to say: "The night in which our Lord rose from the tomb was the night of Saturday," they would go against the evangelists who assert that the Christ rose in the night of Sunday and not of Saturday. It is indeed customary to the sacred Books to name the night of the day before the day itself. The Apostle said: "I was night and day in the abyss."<sup>1</sup> It is also written in the twenty-second chapter of the *Didascalía*, that is to say: "The Teaching of the Apostles": "The night that follows Tuesday is the night of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 2 Cor. xi. 25 (Harklean).

Wednesday, as it is written, 'And the evening and the morning were the first day.'"<sup>1</sup> This refers to the evening of the day that comes after it. Even St. John (Chrysostom) who, as we have seen above, asserted that the day precedes the night, says in the eighty-first discourse of his commentary on Matthew that in his days some people were in the habit of counting the day from the evening, because he writes thus: "*The first (day) of the (feast) of the unleavened bread*"<sup>2</sup> refers to the day which precedes the feast of the unleavened bread, because it is a general habit to count the day from the evening, and in the case under consideration it refers to the day on the evening of which the Passover was kept."<sup>3</sup>

It is now our duty to bring (Scriptural) testimony to show that the evening precedes the morning. Moses said to the Hebrews: "Seven days all of you Israel shall eat unleavened bread. . . . You shall eat it at even."<sup>4</sup> And in the third Book (of the Pentateuch): "In the ninth day of the month at even from even unto even shall ye celebrate your Sabbaths."<sup>5</sup> And Joshua son of Nun: "And the children of Israel encamped in Gilgal and kept the Passover on the fourteenth day of the first month at even in the plains of Jericho."<sup>6</sup> and in the Book of Samuel: "And the people came to cause David to eat meat while it was yet day."<sup>7</sup> And David in Psal. lv.: "Evening, and morning and at noon."<sup>8</sup> And John the Evangelist said: "And they laid Jesus there in the sepulchre because the Sabbath was beginning."<sup>9</sup> And the wife of Pilate sent a message to her husband saying: "I have suffered many things this day in a dream because of Him."<sup>10</sup> It is evident here that she knew the preceding night to be the same as the following day. And Mark said: "Watch ye, therefore, for ye know not when the master of the house cometh at even, or at midnight, or at the cock-crowing, or in the morning."<sup>11</sup>

After having so far demonstrated that the night precedes the day, and darkness the light, let us show in which evening it would be better

<sup>1</sup> Cf. on this subject *Didascalia Apostolorum* (Chap. 21, pp. 159-172 of the text), edited by Mrs. Gibson in 1903.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. xxvi. 17.

<sup>4</sup> Exod. xii. 15, 18.

<sup>6</sup> Josh. v. 10.

<sup>8</sup> Ps. lv. 17.

<sup>10</sup> Matt. xxvii. 19.

<sup>3</sup> *Pat. Gr.*, lviii. 729.

<sup>5</sup> Lev. xxiii. 32.

<sup>7</sup> 2 Sam. iii. 35.

<sup>9</sup> John xix. 42 (not *verbatim*).

<sup>11</sup> Mark xiii. 35.



to abstain : in the evenings of Wednesdays and Fridays, or in the mornings of Wednesdays and Fridays ? First of all we should state that this fast is not ordered by the Apostles and is consequently not very ancient,<sup>1</sup> but because the Greeks and the Armenians said that the day precedes the night they believed that they should begin to fast from the morning, that is to say, from the beginning of the day. The Syrians, however, after having examined the Books and seen that the night precedes the day, as we have demonstrated above, and darkness the light, as all tongues testify, have said that we should fast from the evening, but if they had kept the abstinence after the midday of Tuesday and of Thursday, their habit might perhaps be better vindicated, but because they do not abstain till after sunset of Tuesday and Thursday,<sup>2</sup> what need can the stomach have for food of abstinence or non-abstinence after sunset ? The Syrians are, therefore, right in believing in the precedence of evening and night (over morning and day), but to fast from morning till morning has a good semblance of truth.<sup>3</sup> As to us we do not abstain on Tuesday ; and on Wednesday we fast till the evening, and then we end our abstinence. Then we do not abstain on Thursday. but on Friday we fast from food till the evening and then we end our abstinence ; and we do not abstain all Saturday. We fast, therefore, and abstain on Wednesdays and Fridays, and in the evenings of Thursdays and Saturdays we do not abstain.<sup>4</sup> When we fast on Wednesdays and Fridays we have to eat the food of the day.<sup>5</sup>

There are amongst us some wise men who dissuade our people from abandoning an ancient habit, but if the Armenians and the Greeks concede our point of view that the night precedes the day, as we believe with the Doctors, there will be no harm on our part to

<sup>1</sup> The author refers here to the *mode* of fasting on Wednesday and Friday, and not to the fast itself which is found in the Apostolic Canons as promulgated by Clement, which he quotes frequently in his book. The special Canon dealing with fasting on Wednesday and Friday is found in the edition of de Lagarde, *Reliq. jur. eccl. Antiquissimæ*, p. 57 (of the text and Canon lxvi.). Cf. Apostolic Canons, Canon lxviii., in Hefele's edition, and especially Mansi, *Sac. Conc. collectio*, ii. 44.

<sup>2</sup> I translate all these sentences literally.

<sup>3</sup> I translate all this sentence literally.

<sup>4</sup> The above paragraph is somewhat complicated, but the line of the author's argument is quite clear, although some of the sentences which he uses are not clearly constructed.

<sup>5</sup> *I.e.* abstinence food.

concede also their point of view and eat in the evening of Saturday the same food that we eat in the day of Friday.<sup>1</sup>

But the Armenians object : " If the night precedes the day, you will have to partake of the Sacrament (of the Eucharist) after your food in the evening and in the night." Against this we say :—

" Lo, Christ also and His disciples ate first and partook of the sacrament afterwards. Know, O you (who say this) that between the food of the evening and the partaking of the sacrament intervenes the time of digestion and sleep, and this time lasts eleven hours. If we were eating after the middle of the night or at dawn, there would have been ground for argument. Examine and note well that as an effect of this objection when you pray in the evenings of the festival of the Resurrection and other festivals you would not pray for the festivals but for the day which precedes them. Likewise, with the exception of Matins and of the prayer of the Mass, the prayer of Vespers and Nocturns, which precedes the Sundays and festivals, would be without object.

We have demonstrated that the night precedes the day as surely as there is no taste in the juice of the alkanet.<sup>2</sup> Let us now show to them that although<sup>3</sup> we say that the night precedes the day we do not believe that they are mixed with each other, because we hear David saying : " The sun to rule by day,"<sup>4</sup> and Paul crying : " What communion hath light with darkness ?"<sup>5</sup>

If the evening does not precede the morning, why do we cease work on the eve of Sundays and festivals ? And why do you fast before the festivals ? Further, the Apostles did not order us to observe in fasting the *evening* but the *day* of Wednesday and Friday, and the day is composed of twenty-four hours. This is the reason why we begin our fast from the evening, as you do fast yourself before the festivals.

Again, it is written that our Lord ate the Passover with His disciples in the evening, while the Jews did not eat till the morning in order to crucify the Son. The Syrians, therefore, eat in the evening as our Lord and His disciples ate the lamb in the evening, while the Greeks and the Armenians begin to break their abstinence in the morning

<sup>1</sup> About all this question of the mode of fasting see also below.

<sup>2</sup> A Syriac proverb.

<sup>3</sup> Read *aphen*.

<sup>4</sup> Ps. clvi. 8.

<sup>5</sup> 2 Cor. vi. 14.

like the Jews who ate the flesh of the lamb in the morning after the crucifixion.

Whether a man fasts in the evenings or not, according to his custom, if he does not do all with understanding he will not draw any benefit, because the Apostle said : " For neither if we eat are we the better, neither if we eat not are we the worse."<sup>1</sup> For our part we have demonstrated the truth of the Syrians, but it would have been to better advantage if we had tried to induce pagans to follow us in our fast and our belief that the night precedes the day ! Let these suffice here.

# CHAPTER IV.

## *Against the Armenians. Concerning their Second Habit.*

Let our discourse stand now against those who after the sun rises resort to a candle, and after the appearance of Christ follow the prescriptions of Moses. It is said in the Book : " Seven days shall ye eat unleavened bread,"<sup>2</sup> and Christ came and said : " I am the bread of life, he who eats me shall live for ever."<sup>3</sup> There is, therefore, a great difference between the Old and the New Testaments, and between azym and bread. Bread is derived from life<sup>4</sup> and is leavened, while the name of azym denotes death and not life.<sup>5</sup> Bread denotes life and azym signifies something in which there is no leaven of life.

We do not make use of azym, because it is devoid of life and because Christ is not said to have blessed azym, but bread : " He took bread and blessed it,"<sup>6</sup> and : " I am the living bread which cometh down from heaven, and the bread which I will give is my flesh which I will give for the life of the world," and : " If any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever,"<sup>7</sup> and : " Give us our daily bread,"<sup>8</sup> and : " It is not meet to take the children's bread and to cast it to dogs,"<sup>9</sup> and : " Send the multitude away that they may go and buy themselves bread."<sup>10</sup> From all (these quotations we learn) that

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. viii. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Exod. xii. 15.

<sup>3</sup> John vi. 35, 47, 51.

<sup>4</sup> Has life in it.

<sup>5</sup> These linguistic niceties between " bread " and " unleavened bread " cannot always be expressed in English. The author has apparently an eye on the Syriac *pattira* " azym " from the verb *petar*, " to perish, to die."

<sup>6</sup> Matt. xxvi. 26, etc.

<sup>7</sup> John vi. 50-51.

<sup>8</sup> Matt. vi. 11.

<sup>9</sup> Matt. xv. 26.

<sup>10</sup> Matt. xiv. 15 (Peshitta).

bread is different from azym. If the bread spoken of (in the Gospels) was azym, where could one buy sufficient azym to feed five thousand beside women and children ?<sup>1</sup>

Why is azym more agreeable to you, O Armenians, than leavened bread ? If you say that it is more tasty, it is evident that nobody praises azym except the mill and those who work it ! Since the four evangelists called the bread that our Lord divided among His disciples by the simple word "bread," it was bread and not azym. So also Paul called it by this name. After (Christ) ate the lamb and the azym, He washed (the feet of) the Apostles and divided the bread among them. He thus made this washing the dividing line between the old and the new Law. If azym was used in the new as in the old Law, where is the "new" thing that happened to us according to His saying : "This is my body"<sup>2</sup> of the 'New' Testament."

If you ask : "Where was leavened bread found at that time ?" we shall demonstrate to you (its existence) from the time, from the place, and from the temporal power (of the period). From the time, because the time of Kingdom and of prophecy had passed away from the Jews, and at that period they had nothing left but priesthood. From the place, because Jerusalem was full of Jews and of Gentiles. From the temporal power, because they were subjected to Herod the Greek and to Pilate the Roman. For this reason Jerusalem was full of leavened bread for the food of the Gentiles. And if you ask : "How was leavened bread found on the table while it was not ordered by law ?" we will retort : "How was wine found there, while it was not ordered by law, which had, on the contrary, ordered bitter herbs ?"<sup>3</sup> From this it is evident that He ordered His disciples to prepare what He Himself wished. They prepared the lamb, azym and gall for the fulfilment of the old Law, and they prepared leavened bread and wine for the inauguration of the new Law.

There were two tables on that evening. After having eaten the lamb according to the old Law, He began His supper ; and when

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Matt. xv. 38, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Sic cod. for "my blood," see Matt. xxvi. 28, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Exod. xii. 8, and Numb. ix. 11. Some Fathers believe that the text involves a *bitter drink*. For the sake of convenience I will translate sometimes the Syriac word by "gall," a sense which it often has.

He said : "Take and eat," He did something that was not found in their law, and because it was not their habit to eat leavened bread on that evening they needed a special order to eat.

We may also ask the Armenians : "Is the (Eucharistic) body<sup>1</sup> about which you are fighting like the body which our Lord took from the Virgin, or like the azym of Moses ?" If they answer : "Like the body that He took from the Virgin, which itself was like the azym of Moses," let them show us where is such a thing written. They should not call the body of Christ azym, because the body that our Lord took was composed of four elements ; and they should not make the sign of the cross over it, because at the time when azym was being offered (Christ) was not yet crucified ; and they should not call it "of the New Testament," because azym was only offered in the Old Testament ; and they should not call it "bread of life," but "azym of life," because Christ did not say "I am the azym of life" but "the bread of life."

Further, how would Christ make His body from dead azym, when this same body is living and has a soul ? If He had done this and given us His body in azym, there would have been room for argument in favour of the erroneous doctrine of the partisans<sup>2</sup> of Apollinarius, who pretended that He joined to Himself a body without a soul. Even Melchizedech, who was the figure of Christ in priesthood, offered leavened bread and wine, because there was no azym down to the time of the Exodus from Egypt.

It may be asked here : "If the Word-God took from us an azymous creation, that is to say, devoid of the acidity of the sin, why should we put leaven in the dough ?" We answer : "The creation of Adam was no doubt azymous and free from the stain of sin, as it was composed of the four elements, but when he transgressed the commandment it fermented in two ways, the first of which is that he was subjected to sin, and the second is that he was subjected to the blameless infirmities that affected him from the punishment inflicted on him by God for disciplinary education. In the first case, which involves sin, fermentation of leaven is blameworthy ; but in the second case which only involves blameless infirmities, fermentation of leaven is not blameworthy.

<sup>1</sup> I will often translate the word "body" used in this connection by "Eucharistic bread."

<sup>2</sup> Insert here a word such as *talmīdhe*, "disciples, partisans."



The transmission of leaven began from the transgression of Adam, because if he had not transgressed the commandment he would have been in no need to eat bread, but after he transgressed the commandment, his creation fermented by itself as a sign that we became subject to sin and corruption. Because the Word-God put on the body of Adam, He subjected His body by His will to blameless infirmities for our salvation. For this reason we ought to mix leaven with the body which we consecrate, in order to show that Christ suffered blameless infirmities for us in His body. Those who make His body azymous show that the blameless infirmities did not affect Him, such as pains, introduction of nails (into His hands and feet), sufferings, fear, anguish and death, all of which He endured by His will in His body for us.

St. Ephrem said in his discourse on the Passion: "And in the place of this heavy azym which weighs on the stomach, I will give you living bread, which is leavened with the Holy Spirit." And St. John Chrysostom said in the twenty-fourth discourse of his commentary on the first Epistle to the Corinthians: "He did not give His body without purpose; because the first nature of the body that was fashioned from earth was overtaken by sin to death, and was straying from life, He introduced, so to speak, another dough and leaven, His body, which by nature was identical with its prototype, but which was free from sin and full of life, and He gave it for all to take."<sup>1</sup> And Clement rejected azym in the eighth part of his book, because he says in the sixty-fifth Canon: "If a bishop or a priest or any member of the clergy fasts with the Jews or celebrates Easter with them, or receives from them gifts dealing with the feast such as azym or any other similar thing, let him be anathema. If he is a layman, let him be segregated."<sup>2</sup>

Let us now proceed to demonstrate that it is necessary to mix leaven with the dough used for (the Eucharistic) bread. We begin by saying that *hemira* "leaven" is a word of neutral morality<sup>3</sup> like wealth, poverty, sun, north, mountain and health. Sometimes it denotes sin and wickedness, and sometimes goodness. The Kingdom of Heaven has been compared to leaven, but the malice and hypocrisy

<sup>1</sup> *Pat. Gr.*, lxi., 201.

<sup>2</sup> *Reliq. jur. eccl. antiquissimæ* (edit. de Lagarde), p. 57.

<sup>3</sup> In the text "middle word." The author explains this expression in his treatise which in the MS. follows the present one.

of the Pharisees have also been likened to it : " Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees,"<sup>1</sup> and : " The Kingdom of Heaven is like unto leaven which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal till the whole was leavened."<sup>2</sup> The woman here denotes divinity, and leaven denotes Christ who mixed Himself with the three descendants of Noah, leavened them and turned them away from the worship of idols.

And Amos said : " And offer a sacrifice of thanksgiving with leaven."<sup>3</sup> And Hosea : " The baker who ceaseth from raising after he hath kneaded the dough until it be leavened."<sup>4</sup> And Moses offered leavened bread in the feast of Pentecost : " Two wave loaves shall be baked with leaven."<sup>5</sup> And the Theologian said in the second discourse on the Son : " In order that He may also sanctify man with His hands and become leaven to all His creation, He joined to Himself all that had been condemned in it so that He should save it from condemnation." And St. John Chrysostom said in the fifteenth discourse of his commentary on the first Epistle to the Corinthians : " If they freed the houses from leaven with so much care that they even searched the holes of mice, with stronger reason should we examine our souls. . . . " Now wherever there is a Jew there is leaven, for azym is produced in the middle of towns, and this is considered more a plaything than law, because as reality has come there is no more room for the figures. . . . Do not look therefore for azym such as this, because you have no lamb such as this ; do not look for leaven such as this, because you have no azym such as this. In the spiritual leaven azym may become leavened, but leaven never becomes azym."<sup>6</sup> Here the Doctor calls the old Dispensation leaven, and shows that sometimes leaven denotes virtue such as the leaven that is mixed with the dough, and sometimes vice ; and he rejects azym and calls it Jewish.

And St. Ephrem said in the seventy-fourth *Kauma*<sup>7</sup> of the Passion : " I give you leaven to eat : all of you, therefore, renounce azym ; I give you my living cup to drink : flee therefore, from that containing gall. From now onwards you will eat a Passover that is new and pure, a leavened and perfect bread that is kneaded and baked by the Holy Spirit. I will give you to drink a wine that is composed

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xvi. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. xiii. 33.

<sup>3</sup> Amos iv. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Hos. vii. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Lev. xxiii. 17.

<sup>6</sup> *Pat. Gr.*, lxi., 126.

<sup>7</sup> Name of a prayer in the West Syrian breviary.

of fire and water." And he said in the fifth discourse on the Passion : "O Lord, blessed be he who saw Thee in this feast standing and carrying bread in Thy hand : Thy living and holy body. Let even azym offer thanksgivings to Thee in this feast, because Thou hast withheld it from the mouth of the people who have been ungrateful to Thee." And in the hymn that begins with the words, "Lo, is killed in Egypt . . ." <sup>1</sup> he said : "The Church gave us living bread in the place of the azym that Egypt gave. Our Lord ate the Passover with His disciples by means of the bread that He broke. The bread of the Saviour of all abrogated azym, and contrary to azym, the eaters of which died, the bread that He broke saved His people. It is not azym that rejuvenates the soul, it is the body of the Son that rejuvenates all. Lo, it is by leaven that the Gentiles have been rejuvenated, and the (Jewish) people have become senile with azym."

St. Ephrem says also in his discourse on the sentence (of the Gospel) "leaven which a woman took" : <sup>2</sup> "The living Word of God came down, put on a body and became leaven to our creation, the taste of which had lost its savour through sin. He compared Himself with leaven, and He explained to us the three faculties of the soul by means of simple flour. You eat every day the leaven of His divinity in bread. After He had eaten the azym and the lamb of sacrifice that was only a figure, He took the true bread, the mystery of His holy body."

Show us now what new thing would the New Testament have given us if we had the same azym in it as there was in the Old Testament ? Let any man take leavened bread in his right hand and unleavened bread in his left, and travel in all the world and ask : "What are these ?" Everybody will call the leavened bread in his right hand simply "bread," and the unleavened bread in his left hand "azym." From this everyone should be satisfied that Christ took in His hand and blessed leavened bread. In the place of the lamb of Moses the lamb of God was sacrificed ; and in the place of circumcision Christ gave us baptism ; and in the place of the Sabbath He gave us Sunday ; and in the place of azym He gave us bread. These will suffice.

<sup>1</sup> The first words of a hymn by St. Ephrem.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. xiii. 33.

## CHAPTER V.

*Against the Armenians.*

Let us now proceed to discuss the elements of which the Eucharistic bread is composed and the meanings found in each one of these elements. The Eucharistic bread is composed of flour, water, leaven, salt, and oil, and these symbolise the mystery of Christ whose body is composed of the four elements and who is endowed with a rational soul. The flour symbolises the earth, the water symbolises the water, the salt symbolises the fire, and leaven symbolises the air, while the oil takes the place of the soul, because after Adam was fashioned the Creator breathed life in him.

Salt is also the symbol of love and leaven the symbol of intelligence. As to oil it is the symbol of the mercy of God, as shown by the dove which announced to us the end of the flood by means of an olive branch ; by the children who received the Christ with olive branches ; and by the injury inflicted on the man who fell among thieves, which was healed with oil. The salt is good because with it all oblations are seasoned,<sup>1</sup> and the olive oil (is good) because with it our wounds have been healed. God said to Moses : " Make two cakes unleavened, tempered with oil." <sup>2</sup> And Joel said : " I will send you corn, and wine, and oil." <sup>3</sup> See how oil was used in the ancient sacrifices ; and this oil was the symbol of the olive oil which we mix with the Eucharistic bread.

Leaven is also the symbol of the true faith, because as it draws the dough to its savour, so also Christ draws all to Himself through faith in Him, in His Father and in the Holy Spirit. He said in this connection : " And when I am lifted up from the earth I will draw all men unto me." <sup>4</sup> As to oil it symbolises also our hope as long as we have our passible body which is subject to affections. We mix leaven with our bread because it has a more savoury taste than azym. Leaven denotes also the growth of the body of the Word-God : as leaven increases and expands the dough, so also the Word increased in His body while in His divinity He was perfect and in no need of growth.

Again leaven symbolises the soul which was united with the Word,

<sup>1</sup> Lev. ii. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Exod. xxix. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Joel ii. 19.

<sup>4</sup> John xii. 32.

and the salt found in the Eucharistic bread symbolises the mind that the Word took in His humanity. Job said : " That which is unsavoury is not eaten without salt,"<sup>1</sup> and he means by " unsavoury " the unleavened, which has been abrogated and is no more eaten after the preaching of the Gospel. " Every oblation shall be seasoned with salt,"<sup>2</sup> is an all-binding sentence, and those who offer as sacrifice azym which has no salt in it, do not offer a perfect Eucharistic bread.<sup>3</sup> Elisha symbolised this kind of salt when he cast salt in " naught water and healed it."<sup>4</sup>

And Paul said in the Epistle to the Corinthians : " Let us keep the feast not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness, but with the leaven of sincerity and truth."<sup>5</sup> And Mar Jacob said in the discourse on the Nativity : " In this day the leaven of life ran through the (Adamic) creation, because the human kind had become azymous before His coming. In this day salt came down from the Most High in order to season the unsavoury taste with sweet savour." And our Lord said : " Ye are the salt of the earth,"<sup>6</sup> and again : " Have salt in yourselves,"<sup>7</sup> that is to say love.

Some ignorant Armenians advance an unsavoury and nauseating opinion : " when Shem son of Noah was little he mixed his digested food with dough which was immediately leavened ; and leaven dates from this act. This is the reason why we do not mix leaven with the Eucharistic bread."

These sentences are truly inspired by the Devil and are the teaching of the Evil one. Whence did you learn this ? In which book is it written except in the book of the Evil one ? If that were so your Kings, your Priests and your Bishops, and you with them, would be eating filth all the days of your life. In that case how can a mouth which is every day sullied by filth take the body of Christ ? What is even harder is that after the sacrifice and the purity of the Eucharist you eat the bread of filth, because as usual uncleanness sullies purity.

<sup>1</sup> Job vi. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Lev. ii. 13 ; Mark ix. 49.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. " body " that is the consecrated Host. The word *paghra*, " body," is often used in the text in this sense. I will generally translate it by " Eucharistic bread."

<sup>4</sup> 2 Kings ii. 21.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Cor. v. 8 (Peshitta). In a footnote it is said here : " In the Harklean Version it is written, ' With the azym of sincerity,' but in the Armenian Version ' leaven ' is written as in the Peshitta."

<sup>6</sup> Matt. v. 13.

<sup>7</sup> Mark ix. 50.



Indeed, when something unclean is thrown in a consecrated place it becomes desecrated and needs reconsecration.

See now how Gregory Nyssen rejects also azym in his discourse on the Saturday that precedes Easter-day.<sup>1</sup> After having referred to the objection of the Jews who say: "Since you keep the Passover on the fourteenth day you should also observe the custom of azym and bitter herbs," this Doctor interprets each of these things spiritually and shows that we should not make use of azym, but because the unleavened bread used before *Pascha*—that is to say *Passover*—has a relation to bitter herbs, let us rather see of which substance was the bread that was made after the resurrection: the bread and the honeycomb which were seen in the hands of the Lord at the time when Peter was fishing.<sup>2</sup> See how this Father calls the unleavened bread "azym," and how he calls also "leavened bread" the bread which the Lord gave to the disciples when He saw them fishing.

The Armenians have another habit: they do not mix water with the wine of their chalice which thus contains only wine.—Against them we will say:

The Apostle John said and wrote that "blood and water came out of the side of the Lord."<sup>3</sup> The blood symbolises His life, and water His death. If, therefore, we were saved by His death why should we not keep the remembrance of His death by means of the water of the communion-cup, when He Himself said, "Thus do in remembrance of my death."<sup>4</sup> Would not those who offer wine only deny His Passion and His death for us? The pagans and the Jews offer wine only in their sacrifices, and they are deprived of the faith of Christ and of true life that came to us through His death.

St. Ephrem says: "The water cries that Christ has been killed, and the blood proclaims that He is living by nature." And Clement says in the second book: "Let the communion-cup be filled with wine. It is filled with wine and water, because it is a sign of blood and washing (baptism)."<sup>5</sup> St. John Chrysostom, in commenting upon

<sup>1</sup> In Syriac "Saturday of the Message."

<sup>2</sup> *Pat. Gr.*, xlv., iii., 617-620.

<sup>3</sup> John xix. 34.

<sup>4</sup> *Cf.* 1 Cor. xi. 25-26. The Syriac text has "thus" for "this."

<sup>5</sup> The second book of Clement as published by de Lagarde (*Reliq. jur. eccl. antiquissimæ*, pp. 15-19) is fragmentary. The quotation, however, is found verbatim in Rahmani's *Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi*, p. 130, and in Mingana Syr. 12 (fol. 38). *Cf.* also Barhebræus, *Nomocanon*, p. 36 (edit. Bedjan).

the sentence, "And blood and water came out of the side of our Lord," says: "In this an ineffable mystery was consummated. Water and blood did not come out to no purpose as if by accident, because it is of these two springs which flowed that the Church is constituted; and the initiated know that in water they are born afresh and that in blood and water they are nurtured. This mystery began from that, and when you come near the awe-inspiring chalice you should approach it as if you were going to drink from the side (of Christ)." <sup>1</sup> Where are now those who pretend that this water baptised Adam? The Doctor shows here that this water symbolises the baptism and also the water which we mix with the wine of the chalice, and in saying that (the believers) are nurtured in blood and water he taught us to mix water with the wine of the chalice.

The Armenians say in this connection that the same St. John Chrysostom said in his commentary on Matthew that we should not mix water with wine.—Against them we will say:

The Doctor could not have contradicted himself, but he knew what he was saying in this place and in the other. When he noticed that the Manicheans, the dirty Messalians, and Severus, the heretic, were offering the Eucharistic sacrifice with water only, as you now use wine only, he, the eminent Doctor, refuted them in the eighty-fourth discourse of his commentary on Matthew in showing that we should mix wine with water, and that the fruit of the vine is wine and not water. <sup>2</sup> And he said also in the twenty-fourth discourse of his commentary on the first Epistle to the Corinthians: "This is the body which was reddened by the blood produced by the spear, and which caused two springs to jet forth for all the world: a spring of water and a spring of blood." <sup>3</sup> And before this (sentence) he said: "What is found in this chalice is that which flowed from His side, and that of which we partake." <sup>4</sup>

And Gregory Nyssen said in the third discourse of his commentary on the Song of Solomon: "Tell me where thou feedest," <sup>5</sup> in order that I may find pasture of life for myself and delight in the heavenly

<sup>1</sup> *Pat. Gr.*, lix., viii., 463.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, lviii., 740. John Chrysostom speaks in this section of Marcion, Valentinus, and Mani.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, lxi., x., 203.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, lxi., x., 199.

<sup>5</sup> Song of Sol. i. 7.

nourishment of which any one who does not partake will not be able to enter into eternal life, and in order to hasten to the fountain of life and drink the heavenly beverage which you distribute to all those who are thirsty, while you cause water to flow for them from your side, which is the spring which the spear (of the soldier) has opened and caused to jet forth. He who is worthy to drink from it will have a spring of water which will give eternal life.”<sup>1</sup>

And Hippolytus of Rome says in his commentary on the Book of Judges : “ God clave an hollow in the jaw and there came water thereout,<sup>2</sup> and when the soldier struck the side (of Christ) with a spear the Word that was in Him caused water to come out of it, in order that it might be seen as a spring of perpetual water in those who believe, and in order that those who are thirsty from work might be given eternal drink.”<sup>3</sup>

We will also say that the word chalice is commonly used in the sense of a mixture of wine and water, because wine is only referred to as wine while a chalice is referred to by both wine and water mixed together.<sup>4</sup> If you say that the water went down to baptise Adam,<sup>5</sup> the blood also would have gone down to him, because the wood of the cross was fixed above the cranium of Adam. Who has ever baptised with blood and water ? He Himself said : “ Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit,”<sup>6</sup> and : “ He will baptise you with water, with fire and with the Holy Spirit.”<sup>7</sup> He went down in person and was baptised, and in this He baptised also Adam ; why should He then baptise him another time ? What is there to make water mixed with blood fit for baptism ?

The (Armenians) add : “ Since the grapes from which wine is extracted have already absorbed water in the vineyard, wine is in no need of additional water.”—Lo, the grains of corn have also absorbed rain in the fields ; do not mix, therefore, water with flour when you make dough. Turn now to the truth and listen to the Doctors who have disclosed it by showing that the communion-cup is to be filled with wine mixed with water. These will suffice.

<sup>1</sup> *Pat. Gr.*, xliv., i., 801.

<sup>2</sup> Judges xv. 19.

<sup>3</sup> See the “ Prefatory note ” about the lost works of Hippolytus.

<sup>4</sup> This argument holds good especially in Syriac.

<sup>5</sup> Allusion to an early Christian tradition to the effect that Christ was crucified exactly on the spot where the head of Adam was buried.

<sup>6</sup> John iii. 5.

<sup>7</sup> Matt. iii. 11.

## CHAPTER VI.

*Against the Habits of the Armenians.*

Let us now rebuke their ignorance which has hankered after Jewish habits. In the regions of the Great Armenia they sacrifice lambs in the feast of the Passover, and they sprinkle the outside staircases and the thresholds of the doors with their blood; and if any one censures them they answer: "We are immolating our sacrifices to God." It would be good on our part if we taught them that even under the old Law sacrifices were not acceptable. God said through David: "I will not eat the flesh of bulls nor will I drink the blood of he goats,"<sup>1</sup> and: "Because Thou desirest not sacrifices, and Thou delightest not in burnt offerings."<sup>2</sup> And Jeremiah said: "Your burnt offerings are not acceptable to me, nor your sacrifices sweet to me."<sup>3</sup> And Micah said: "The Lord will not be pleased with thousands of rams nor with sacrifices. . . . I have showed thee, O man, what doth the Lord require of thee: to do justice and to love mercy."<sup>4</sup> And Samuel said: "Behold, to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams."<sup>5</sup> And Isaiah said: "He that killeth an ox is as if he slew a man; he that sacrificeth a lamb, as if he cut off a dog's neck; he that offereth an oblation, as if he offered swine's blood; he that burneth incense, as if he blessed idols."<sup>6</sup>

If sacrifices were rejected under the old Law how much more are they so in the New Testament? Paul said: "Our Passover is Christ who has been sacrificed for us."<sup>7</sup> And he wrote in his Epistle to the Hebrews: "But now in the end of the world He sacrificed Himself once for us in His immolation, etc. So He was once offered for the sake of those who are sanctified through Him for ever."<sup>8</sup> And our Lord said: "Go ye and learn what that meaneth I will have mercy and not sacrifice."<sup>9</sup>

And Cyril (of Alexandria) said in his commentary on Isaiah: "One sacrifice put an end to Levi and his priesthood."<sup>10</sup> And the

<sup>1</sup> Ps. l. 13.<sup>2</sup> Ps. li. 16.<sup>3</sup> Jer. vi. 20.<sup>4</sup> Mic. vi. 7-8.<sup>5</sup> 1 Sam. xv. 22.<sup>6</sup> Is. lxvi. 3.<sup>7</sup> 1 Cor. v. 7.<sup>8</sup> Heb. ix. 26-27 (with changes).<sup>9</sup> Matt. ix. 13.<sup>10</sup> Pat. Gr., lxx., iii., 909.

Theologian said in his discourse on Passover : " Let us sacrifice to God neither young bullocks nor lambs cutting horns but a sacrifice of praise." <sup>1</sup> And in the discourse on the plague of hail he said : " If we could pray Thee to avert the wrath with burnt offerings and sacrifices, Thou wouldst not also have listened to these." And John (Chrysostom) said in his discourse on Palm Sunday : " Blessed be He who came in the name of the Lord to become a sacrifice on the wood of the cross and to put an end to all sacrifices." <sup>2</sup> And in his discourse on the betrayal (of Judas) he said : " The lamb was the symbol of another and spiritual lamb, and the first sheep were also shadows of the truth, and when the sun of righteousness appeared the shadows disappeared." <sup>3</sup> And John said : " Behold the lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world." <sup>4</sup> And Paul said : " He by himself purged our sins." <sup>5</sup>

How then do you cleave to the sacrifices of lambs like the Jews ? The sacrifice of lambs has no utility after the coming of Christ who abolished it. Moses said that he that eateth the sacrifice of lambs without having been circumcised, " that soul shall be cut off from among his people ; " <sup>6</sup> you should, therefore, after having adopted the habit of sacrificing lambs, adopt also that of circumcising yourselves !

The (Armenians) have also another habit : " When they wish to sacrifice lambs they bless salt with prayers and canticles as if to sanctify the sacrifices with it. Against this we will say :

The sanctity of the salt is attached to the blood in the same way as the body and the blood of Christ are attached to His soul. Now since the soul of a beast is its blood, <sup>7</sup> how do you allow dogs to eat first the sanctity of the salt which is attached to the blood ? <sup>8</sup> You

<sup>1</sup> *Pat. Gr.*, xxxvi., ii., 656.

<sup>2</sup> *Pat. Gr.*, ii. This quotation does not seem to be found verbatim in John Chrysostom's homily on Palm Sunday as printed in *Pat. Gr.*, lix., viii., 706-708 and lxiii., xii., 818-822. The idea conveyed by it is, however, very frequently expressed in the writings of this Father, and even something like a verbal quotation can be singled out in his writings. See the index in lxiv., xiii., 134.

<sup>3</sup> *Pat. Gr.*, xlix., ii., 379.

<sup>4</sup> John i. 29.

<sup>5</sup> Heb. i. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Exod. xii. 48.

<sup>7</sup> Many ancient philosophers believed the soul to reside in the blood. Cf. Aristotle, *De animâ*, i., 2 ; also Leviticus xvii. 18 ; and see Ibn Rabban's *Book of Religion and Empire*, p. 82 of my edition.

<sup>8</sup> In the East the beasts are slaughtered in a place where dogs are allowed to come and lick their blood.



should first allow your priests to partake of the sacrifices and not the dogs ! Moses did not bless salt but sprinkled blood on the people, and you allow blood which has been blessed by salt to be eaten by dogs, and perform the sacrifice of the body of Christ without salt ! You bless salt at the sacrifice of oxen and lambs and you make them eat it, but the great sacrifice which seasoned the unsavouriness of the world you perform without salt while you honour the sacrifice of sheep and lambs with salt !

If a dog enters a church they pretend that it has been desecrated and the holy chrism has disappeared from it, and here the dogs partake of blood by gulping it, before their Bishops ! Moses sprinkled blood on the people in order that they might be purified of their sins by it, and he did not recite any prayers over salt ; you, however, loosen your tongue to pray over the salt, and leave the blood to whom the salt is attached to be licked by dogs !

What do the Armenians say here ? They say : " Who gave you the power to bless an object which has been desecrated and in which a mouse has fallen ? " Against them we will say :

And who gave you the power to absolve and to wipe off the dirt of sin for a small consideration ? A spiritual<sup>1</sup> blessing is more sublime and higher than a corporeal<sup>2</sup> blessing, as the soul is higher than the body. Our Lord said : " Whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." <sup>3</sup> The word " whatsoever " is all-embracing, and in using it our Lord did not leave out anything. If you are unable to purify the uncleanness of a mouse, you have not the power to absolve anything, and in this case you contradict God who said " whatsoever," because you say " yes " for some things and " no " for some others.

They say in this connection that the object that has been desecrated should be broken up and its contents thrown away,<sup>4</sup> and that if they eat a polluted thing unknowingly they do not sin.<sup>5</sup> Against them we will say :

<sup>1</sup> Cod. " Corporeal."

<sup>2</sup> Cod. " spiritual."

<sup>3</sup> Matt. xviii. 18.

<sup>4</sup> The author presupposes a good knowledge of all the things that desecrate a sacred object. We cannot here enter into detail concerning the complicated Syrian legislation on the subject. Such a legislation may be found in some liturgical MSS., and a very short summary of it only is reproduced by Barhebræus in his *Nomocanon*, pp. 46-47 (edition Bedjan).

<sup>5</sup> The author possibly wishes here to emphasise the fact that the ignorance of the law is no excuse for breaking it.

There is, therefore, no condemnation for the pagans who sin without knowledge, and those who crucified the Son are not to be blamed because they did not know that they were crucifying Him. Such sayings are foolish and like old women's tales, because it is much better that a man who has been defiled without his knowledge should go to a priest who would bless water for him and give him to drink from it.

In this connection they do another thing which is ludicrous : if the objects that have been desecrated are made of gold, silver, brass or iron they simply purify them with fire, but if they are made of clay they break them up. If fire can purify and bless, you should purify everything with it, and you should also heat with it wine, honey and oil so that uncleanness should flee from them. They purify precious objects with fire, but those that are not precious and those that are made of clay they break up ! They bestow more power of purification on a natural thing like fire than on their priests ! They strain at gnats and swallow camels !<sup>1</sup> They are eager to effect bodily and external purifications but they show no care in purifying themselves of the internal sins ! There is no power that can effect purifications from external and internal impurities like the power that God granted to priesthood. We will add that impurity<sup>2</sup> being an invisible thing fire and water cannot purify it ; but Satan being also invisible commits and teaches men to commit real impurity and sin.

Furthermore, tell us whose creature is the mouse ? If you say that it is the creature of the Devil you will be Manicheans who believe in two Supreme Beings, one who created good and the other evil. If you confess the truth and say that it is the creature of God, all that God created is very good as Moses said ;<sup>3</sup> and how can you decide that it is defiled ? God abhorred the impurity of the flesh and of the spirit, that is to say of the body and of the soul, such as fornication, murder and theft, but not the impurity of the mouse ! And how is it that you can purify the great uncleanness of the soul, and your priests are unable to purify the uncleanness of a mouse !

Again tell us whether the uncleanness of the mouse emanates from its nature or its free-will. If you say that it is from its nature Moses

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xxiii. 24.

<sup>2</sup> The author is naturally speaking here of moral and spiritual impurity.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. i. 31.

will rebuke you because he wrote that everything that God created is very good ; and if you answer that it is from its free-will, free-will has only been given to angels and men and not to animals and mice, because wherever there is free-will there is also justification and sin ;<sup>1</sup> and if the priests absolve the free-will that has sinned, where is it written that a mouse had sinned so that the same priests were powerless to bless the place in which it had fallen ? It is time now to show them whence we got the habit of blessing a defiled object :

Paul said in his Epistle to Timothy : “ Every creature of God is good, and nothing is defiled if it be received with faith, for it is sanctified by the power of God and prayer.”<sup>2</sup> It is from this that we received our habit to bless an object in which a mouse is drowned.

And he said in his Epistle to the Romans : “ I know, and am persuaded by the Lord Jesus, that there is nothing unclean of itself : but to him that esteemeth any thing to be unclean, to him it is unclean.”<sup>3</sup> And he wrote in his Epistle to Titus : “ Unto the pure all things are pure, but unto them that are defiled and unbelieving is nothing pure ; even their mind and conscience is defiled. They profess that they know God, but in works they deny Him.”<sup>4</sup> And in his Epistle to the Corinthians he said : “ Whatsoever is set before you eat, asking no question for conscience sake.”<sup>5</sup> And our Lord said : “ Not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man ; but that which cometh out of him.”<sup>6</sup>

St. John Chrysostom writes thus in the twelfth discourse of his commentary on the first Epistle to Timothy : “ *If it is God's creature it is good*, because everything was very good (Gen. i. 31). In saying ‘ God's creature ’ he meant all things that are eaten, because he had long ago confuted the heresy of those who introduce uncreated matter and who affirm that those eatable things are from this matter. If it is good, what is the meaning of ‘ it is sanctified by the word of God and prayer ’ ? It is plain that what is unclean is sanctified. This, however, is not the case, as he is here speaking against those who held that there was a creature unclean in itself. He laid down two propositions, the first of which is that there is no creature unclean in itself, and the second is that even if it is unclean, you have a remedy for it : make the

<sup>1</sup> Lit. impurity.

<sup>4</sup> Tit. i. 15.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Tim. iv. 4.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Cor. x. 27.

<sup>3</sup> Rom. xiv. 14.

<sup>6</sup> Matt. xv. 11.

sign of the cross, give thanks, glorify God and all the uncleanness will flee."<sup>1</sup>

You are put to shame by this quotation, because he said that even if an object becomes unclean you have a remedy in your hands, which consists of the sign of the cross, prayer and praise of God, and through it all uncleanness flees. These will suffice here.

## CHAPTER VII.

### *Against the Habits of the Armenians.*<sup>2</sup>

They have a very bad, nay even diabolical, habit : they re-baptise any (Christian) who leaves his creed and follows theirs. The early Fathers did not teach us to re-baptise all those who are converted from any heresy, with the exception of those that are converted from the heresy of Arius, Sabellius, Macedonius and Paul of Samosata. These last converts they have ordered us to re-baptise. As to those who are converted from the heresy of Photinus they have only ordered us to consecrate with the holy Chrism,<sup>3</sup> and they have not permitted us either to re-baptise or to confirm those who come to us from the heresy of the Nestorians or that of the Chalcedonians or that of Julian who believes in the doctrine of the Phantasiasts. If these abjure the doctrine from which they have been converted and give us a written document that they will follow our doctrine, they are immediately received through the prayer of a Bishop ; and after two years they partake of our Sacrament.

We wrote fully about these in our controversial work against the Chalcedonians, who having abandoned the path of duty re-baptise any one who follows their doctrine (and thus carry away everybody) like a flood which carries away everything.

Further, while Moses made use of ointments and olive oil, and the Fathers of the New Testament of a perfumed olive oil,<sup>4</sup> and our Fathers of olive oil mixed with balsam, they make use of the oil of

<sup>1</sup> *Pat. Gr.*, lxii., xi., 559.

<sup>2</sup> A marginal note is to the effect : "On the fact that the Armenians re-baptise anyone who follows their doctrine, like the Chalcedonians."

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.* to confirm.

<sup>4</sup> The compounds of this perfumed olive oil are enumerated in Barhebræus, *Nomocanon*, p. 30 (edition Bedjan).

sesame against all canons and all orders. When they are censured by the bulk of Christendom over the fact that they have abandoned olive oil which is praised in the Books both of the Old and the New Testaments, they excuse themselves by saying : " There is no olive oil in Armenia, which is a cold country in which no olive trees can grow." This is the reason they give for using oil of sesame in their holy Chrism.

If there are no olive trees in Armenia they are found in the regions of Neo-Cæsarea which is in close proximity to Armenia. Lo, your people have taken possession of Syria,<sup>1</sup> why then did not your Bishops who are in it make use of olive oil ? We Syrians who live in Melitene and in the North have also no olive oil and opobalsam that comes from Egypt, but we import them with great care and make use of them in the sacrament of the holy Chrism.

Tell us now this : Christ said to His disciples, " Baptise all peoples in the name of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Ghost," why then you who believe like us in the Trinity re-baptise those who had once been baptised in its name ? Whence did you receive this ? If you answer : " From the Apostles," lo Paul says : " One Lord, one faith, one baptism,"<sup>2</sup> and if you add : " From the Fathers," lo the Council of Nicea justified only one baptism. Baptism is the figure of the death and of the burial of Christ and of His remaining three days in the tomb, while the three immersions designate the mystery of these three days, as Paul said : " As many of us as were baptised into Christ were baptised into His death, and are buried with Him in baptism."<sup>3</sup> It has been called a second birth because it justified us as if we were born afresh ; and it is one because it is the mystery of death, and inasmuch as those who will rise from the dead will not die, there is likewise no second baptism. You stand, therefore, against the truth when you re-baptise those who had been baptised in (the name of) the Trinity and in the death of Christ.

They have another bad habit : they do not allow anybody to sleep in their Church, be he sick or in health ; nor do they allow a cat to enter into it, all under the pretence of cleanness.<sup>4</sup> Against them we will say this :

<sup>1</sup> North and North-West Syria and Cilicia.

<sup>2</sup> Ephes. iv. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Rom. vi. 3-4.

<sup>4</sup> The author means by this that a cat is considered, by the Armenians, to be an unclean animal, and if it enters into their Churches they believe that it desecrates them.



What did Christ carry on His shoulders? A man or a Church built of stones? If He carried a man,<sup>1</sup> how could a Church drive away what Christ carried on His shoulders? A Church is a congregation of the faithful and not stones and buildings. This is known by the fact that it is said: "Salute the Church that is in your house."<sup>2</sup> Here "church" designates the men and women who were assembled in the house, and not the building. Our Lord implied the same about the man who fell among thieves and whom (the Samaritan) set on his own beast and brought to an inn and confided to the innkeeper.<sup>3</sup> The readers of Sacred Books know that Christ refers by the word inn to the Church, and by the word innkeeper to the priest, and by the man who fell among thieves to Adam who was stricken with infirmity by his falling into the hands of the demons, and by the word Samaritan to Himself. Now rise against Christ and say to Him: "Why did you bring inside the Church the sick man whom you should have left outside? As an inn admits everybody, good or bad, so also the Church is an asylum for all men. Indeed, where is the mother who shrinks from her children and avoids them? As to cats, if you do not allow them to enter into the Church, why do you allow then the mice which are unclean to enter into it?"

They err also in another point: they do not permit a layman to read the Gospel.

Tell us where you learned this. It is indeed not suitable for laymen to read publicly the Gospel for the congregation, as a priest does; but if a believer reads it for himself and takes benefit from it, why do you deprive him of such a grace? It is Satan who has taught this habit in order that no utility should accrue to weak people from living words. Our Lord ate with publicans and sinners, and you condemn His words to the faithful! The penitent woman anointed His head and sat at His feet, and you hide His words from the Christians! In this you go against Him.

Listen now to St. John Chrysostom how in the second discourse of his Commentary on Matthew he speaks against you and allows laymen to read the Gospel. A layman who was excusing himself by saying: "I cannot read the Books because I have the burden of a

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Luke xv. 5, where according to the exegesis of many Fathers the sheep carried by the shepherd (= Christ) symbolises a human being.

<sup>2</sup> Col. iv. 15, where "his house."

<sup>3</sup> Luke x. 30-37.

wife and children," this Doctor rebuked and then admonished as follows : " When you are about to hold the Gospel in your hands, do not hold it before you have washed your hands, lest you should underrate the power of its words."<sup>1</sup>

They sin in another and worse thing : they pretend that the faithful are not allowed to recite the Lord's prayer, which is the sole prerogative of the priests.

Against them we will say : laymen would not, therefore, be allowed to be baptised ! Any baptised person who by baptism has become the son of the Father and the brother of Christ is obliged to recite the Lord's Prayer. If he is not a son and does not call God a father, he would not even be baptised. Lo, pagans and Jews cannot recite the Lord's prayer because they have not received the baptism. You have received this (doctrine) from Satan who is pained and grieved in seeing the degree of honour to which the Christians have been raised.

Listen now to what St. John Chrysostom says in the fourteenth discourse of his commentary on the Epistle to the Romans ; " Did they not also call God father ? Do you not hear Moses saying : "Thou hast been unmindful of God who begat thee,"<sup>2</sup> or Malachi saying also, " God who created you is one and one father to you all ?"<sup>3</sup> We all priests, laymen and slaves, have been ordered to pray in this way and to utter this word, after this wonderful travail and after this ineffable birth."<sup>4</sup>

They have also a habit that savours of paganism : they forbid communion to the faithful for a long time, and for this reason their faithful are in a continual state of sin, and Satan seeing that they are precluded from participation in the Sacrament comes with his wicked demons and constantly tortures them and invites them to passion.

As to us, basing our assertion on the testimony of Holy writ, we say that a Christian should not be precluded from communion. It is not good, however, for him to partake of it if he is unworthy of it.

<sup>1</sup> *Pat. Gr.*, lvii., 29.

<sup>2</sup> *Deut.* xxxii. 18.

<sup>3</sup> *Mal.* ii. 10. The Greek text and the verse of Malachi have the first pers. plur. "who created us" and "father to us all," and read thus : "Have we not all one father ? Hath not one God created us ?"

<sup>4</sup> *Pat. Gr.*, lx., ix., 527.

They rejoin : We are not worthy to partake of it at all times.— If you are not worthy of it to-day, show us when you will be. Every day we live we add sins to our sins, and there is no man that would be pure (before God) even if he were to live one hour only. The sun and the stars are not pure before Him. Paul calls himself “off-scouring,”<sup>1</sup> and David “a worm,”<sup>2</sup> and Abraham “dust.”<sup>3</sup> As the body is not able to live without bread, so the soul is not able to live without communion.<sup>4</sup> As blank parchment has no honour, but when a royal edict is written upon it, it is called “a royal edict,” so also when a man receives communion he is called the temple of the Lord Christ. As the one who receives baptism is called the son of the Father, so also the one who receives communion is united to Christ. As a piece of bread that is thrown into wine imbibes it, so also the one who partakes of the Sacrament imbibes holiness and life from the holy communion.

That communion is a protector to the faithful is taught by Cyril of Alexandria in the second chapter of his commentary on John : “Be not amazed at this and say not within thyself in a Jewish fashion, “How ?” Rather think that as water which is cold by nature when put in a pan and placed on fire not only forgets its nature but even surpasses the nature of the element that overcame it, so also we who although corruptible because we are of the nature of flesh, yet in our union with the Sacrament we leave our weakness and turn towards a higher life.”<sup>5</sup>

And St. John Chrysostom says in the eighth discourse of his commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews : “A great many partake of this sacrifice once a year, and some others twice, and some others frequently. My discourse concerns all of them. Which of them shall I praise more ? Those who do it once, or those who do it frequently, or those who do it rarely ? Neither those who do it rarely, nor those who do it once, nor those who do it often, but those who have a pure conscience, and those who have a pure heart, and those who have a blameless conduct. Let such as these receive communion at all times.”<sup>6</sup>

The (Armenians) entangle themselves and fall into the pit in

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. iv. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. xxii. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xviii. 27.

<sup>4</sup> The far-reaching consequences of this sentence should be noted.

<sup>5</sup> *Pat. Gr.*, lxxiii., vi., 580.

<sup>6</sup> *Pat. Gr.*, lxxiii., xii., 131.

another thing : they baptise the crosses and the bells ; a thing that is not found in Holy Writ.

Christ said to the Apostles : "Go ye and teach all nations and baptise them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."<sup>1</sup> We are distinguished from pagans by this sign of baptism. And Paul said : "As many of you as have been baptised into Christ have put on Christ."<sup>2</sup> Crosses and bells put on, therefore, Christ ; a thing abhorrent to the truth. Further : "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit he cannot enter into the Kingdom (of Heaven)."<sup>3</sup> The crosses and the bells which are baptised are, therefore, being prepared to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven ; a thing remote from the truth. Further : "We have received adoption whereby we cry Abba, Father."<sup>4</sup> You call, therefore, the crosses and the bells which you baptise the children of God ; a thing that could not possibly be right. Again, we became brothers of Christ by baptism. The crosses and the bells which you baptise are, therefore, brothers of Christ ; who can accept this ?

The Cross perfects the sacraments of the Church, and if it is not perfect it is not a cross ; but a cross does not give anything to another cross, in the same way as a bishop cannot give anything to another bishop nor a priest to another priest, because they are equal in their divine gift ; and as all the sacrifices of the Church are sanctified by the body that was nailed to the Cross, so also all crosses are sanctified by the Cross that was set up on Golgotha, and they do not need to be baptised nor impressed with the holy Chrism.

St. Basil said in his discourse on the forty martyrs : "The honour offered to an image redounds on its archetype."<sup>5</sup> The honour, therefore, offered to the Cross of the Crucifixion extends to all other crosses as their archetype, and they do not need to be baptised. If a cross needed baptism all the icons, the images and the Gospel<sup>6</sup> would also be in need of it. As Moses<sup>7</sup> baptised plates and pots so also do the Armenians with crosses and bells, and give names to inanimate objects as if they were animate. The pagans

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xxviii. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Gal. iii. 27.

<sup>3</sup> John iii. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Rom. viii. 15.

<sup>5</sup> *Pat. Gr.*, xxxi., iii., 510.

<sup>6</sup> *I.e.* the book of the Gospel ; the author speaks here of the objects found on the altar.

<sup>7</sup> Read *de-Māshûc*. Moses means here "the Jews."

honoured graven images of idols by ascribing to them the name of God, and the Armenians give names of saints to crosses !

But they retort : " Why do you consecrate altars and not crosses ? " —Against them we will say :

Everything that has an archetype is called an image, but the churches and the altars because they have no archetype are consecrated, and become an archetype to themselves. As to a cross, because it has an archetype, it is called an image. This is the reason why no image of saints and no Gospels are to be consecrated. When we kiss<sup>1</sup> a cross or an image of saints or the Gospel, we go up in our thought to Christ and to the wood of the Cross on which He was crucified, and it is Him that we kiss.<sup>2</sup> Likewise, when we kiss the image of a saint, we ascend in our thought to the saint whom it represents, and it is him that we kiss in spirit. So also we do not kneel before the parchment on which the Gospel is written but before the divine words written on it. Those, therefore, who baptise a cross and call it by the name of this or that saint are to be censured. As to us we only know one Cross, and that of Christ, who was lifted on it ; and we shall never give it to the name of another. Let this subject end here.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### *Against the Habits of the Armenians.*

The Armenians again ask us : " Why do you not administer *Khustwanutin*,<sup>3</sup> that is to say confession, like us ? " —Against them we will say :

We also have confession of sins, but we make use of it as it should be and not for a consideration. Confession was first preached by John the Baptist, because it is written that the Pharisees went out to him confessing their sins.<sup>4</sup> He who sins, repents and confesses his sin does something good, but if he returns afterwards to the same sin, constantly falling and rising, and, as it were, demolishing and building,

<sup>1</sup> Read *nashkīnan*.

<sup>2</sup> Or " it."

<sup>3</sup> The Armenian word for confession. The confession spoken of here is the canonical or semi-public confession and not the secret and auricular confession which is not found in eastern churches.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Matt. iii. 7.



he resembles the dogs whose habit is to turn to their own vomit again, and the sows that were washed to their wallowing in the mire.<sup>1</sup> A confession should be a true one, as David did, because after having confessed his sin he committed it no more. So also did Manasseh, and the penitent woman, and Simon the head of the Apostles, and the publicans, the adulteresses and the good malefactor. The book<sup>2</sup> says : "Do not rely on the remission of sins and add sins to sins."

We say, therefore, that confession is good and profitable, because, "If we confess our sins He is faithful and just to forgive us."<sup>3</sup> And : "I said I will confess my transgressions unto the Lord."<sup>4</sup> And : "Confess your faults one to another."<sup>5</sup> He who confesses his sins and ceases to commit them God will have pity on him, but it is imperative that the confession should be before a wise physician and before experienced brethren who can bring help. Indeed if a man does not disclose his ailment to a physician it will not be cured. He who wishes from his whole heart to be cured has to obey the spiritual physician in order that his healing may be speedily effected. If, however, he goes to the confession of his sins by force of habit only and not with real zest, he will not be cured. That the confession of the Armenians is done by force of habit and not with real desire to better themselves is borne out by the fact that one of them confesses himself<sup>6</sup> repeatedly and immediately after goes and commits a sin greater than the first.

They object also : "Why do you wash your hands in the Church before the offertory ?"<sup>7</sup>—Against them we will say :

This act has a mystery attached to it, and St. Dionysius wrote about it in the second discourse of his book to the effect that when the priest washes the tips of his fingers before the performance of the sacraments, he shows that he is not yet freed from the dirt of sin. Lo, he wipes off from him all dirt before the great sacrifice in order that he may execute his priestly office with purity before the Lord of purity.<sup>8</sup> He washes also His hands after having offered the sacrifice, because as he takes off the vestments of priesthood so he washes his hands lest they should touch something that is incongruous. Which

<sup>1</sup> 2 Pet. ii. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Which book?

<sup>3</sup> 1 John i. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Ps. xxxii. 5.

<sup>5</sup> James v. 16.

<sup>6</sup> Lit. "gives confession."

<sup>7</sup> Lit. "before offering."

<sup>8</sup> *Pat. Gr.*, iii., i., 440, 465.

of us two is to be praised ? We who wash our hands in the Church or you who wash yours in the plate from which you eat your cooked food ?

Let us now come to another nonsense of theirs. They say : "Why do you separate the festivals of the Nativity and of the Epiphany which were in ancient times held in one day ?"—Against them we will say :

Lo, Lent was in the Apostolic times observed after the festival of the Epiphany, and the Fathers of the Council of Nicea<sup>1</sup> ordered it to fit with the Passion Week. You, therefore, who love ancient things, leave the new Festival and cleave to the old one. Further, in the Apostolic times Palm Sunday and the Saturday of the Passion were only observed once in thirty years ; you should, therefore, wait also thirty years before observing Palm Sunday and the Saturday of the Passion. The Apostle said : "Prove all things and hold fast that which is good."<sup>2</sup> We ought to hold the festival of the Nativity before that of Baptism<sup>3</sup> because thirty years elapsed from the time of the birth of our Lord to that of His baptism.

Everything that is beset with doubt can be cleared up and confirmed either from the habits of the people, or from the Book, or from nature. From nature : this happens in such matters as conception, birth, and growth ; from habits : this happens in such matters as the art of a carpenter or a goldsmith ; from the Book : such as in the sentence : "The Book of the generation of Jesus Christ."<sup>4</sup> The knowledge from both nature and Book is related to the senses, and to the words of Book alone faith is necessary.

Now from the habits of the people we know that we should first observe the Nativity and then the baptism of our Lord, because one is first born and afterwards brought to baptism. And from Book we know that our Lord was born on the twenty-fifth of December. Luke wrote that Gabriel was sent in the sixth month,<sup>5</sup> and he also said that

<sup>1</sup> Lit. "of 318."

<sup>2</sup> 1 Thes. v. 21.

<sup>3</sup> In the Eastern Churches the festival of the Epiphany is exclusively devoted to the baptism of our Lord at which the three persons of the Trinity revealed themselves. This is the reason why it is called the Festival of the Revelation or Apparition. The festival is not connected in the Syrian Churches with any other thing (such as the arrival of Wise Men) as it is in the Western Churches.

<sup>4</sup> Matt. i. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Luke i. 26.

it was the sixth month of the conception of John.<sup>1</sup> On the eleventh of October both the solar and lunar computations were equal, and if you count from the eleventh of October to the twenty-fifth of March there will be six months. On the twenty-fifth of March the moon had ten days, and from the twenty-fifth of March to the twenty-fifth of December on which our Saviour was born, there are nine lunar months. His conception was on the tenth of the lunar month and His birth on the sixth, as Saint Ephrem said: "On the tenth was His conception and on the sixth His birth." On the twenty-fifth of March, therefore, the day in which the blessed (Virgin) had her annunciation, the moon was in its tenth day, and on the twenty-fifth of December, the day in which (Christ) was born, the moon was in its sixth day as Saint Ephrem asserted.<sup>2</sup>

Down to the time of the Emperor Arcadius and of St. John Chrysostom the two feasts were held on the same day in Palestine, and in the countries of the North, but in the West they held them separately as it is done in our days. When this last and good habit came to the East all peoples followed it, and consequently a considerable number of people held the two feasts separately. The Theologian bears witness to this as he has written a special homily for each of them, and he says in his discourse on *Theophany* as follows: "We have before this observed the festival of the Nativity."<sup>3</sup>

Further, since the Nativity is the beginning of all the Divine Economy, and the Evangelists begin their narrative with our Lord's birth, and afterwards with His Baptism, why are you perplexed and why do you say that the Nativity and the Epiphany fall on the same day? Even in a thousand years the twenty-fifth of December will not be the sixth of January!

They also say to us: "Why do you not burn frankincense in Churches? Lo, the wise men offered frankincense to Christ."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Luke i. 36.

<sup>2</sup> We cannot test these dates scientifically as we do not know the precise year of the birth of Christ.

<sup>3</sup> *Pat. Gr.*, xxxvi., ii., 314.

<sup>4</sup> Matt. ii. 11. The frankincense spoken of by the Evangelists is of the variety called *olibanum*, although it has not been scientifically identified even in our days. This is also the case with the ancient frankincense used by the Jews.

Against them we will say :—

The wise men brought frankincense and myrrh according to their pagan habit, because pagans were then in the habit of offering frankincense to their gods, but the Fathers of the Church ordered us to burn compound incense, and compound incense symbolises Christ who is composed of Divinity and humanity. If you wish to burn frankincense like the wise men you should mix with it myrrh and gold and burn it in this way. See, however, how Isaiah rebukes you as he rebuked the Jews because he says : “He who burns frankincense is like the one who worships idols.”<sup>1</sup> And Saint Cyril says in the first discourse of the second part of his commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews : “*We have a high priest*”<sup>2</sup> . . . see the way of the priesthood of our Saviour. We do not find Him making use of the sacrifices of oxen and frankincense, like the priests under the law of Moses.”<sup>3</sup>

The Children of Togarma<sup>4</sup> say also to us : “Why do you cross yourselves with one finger only ?”—Against them we will say :

Make a figure of the Cross on the wall or on the earth, and you will see that you will do it with one finger only and that you are like us. If you do it with three fingers or with five, you will be like one who beats lentils or the axis of water-wheels with his hands.<sup>5</sup> If you pretend that three fingers are the symbol of the Trinity, know that the Trinity was not crucified. What utility would accrue to a man who is full of iniquity and crooked in his faith whether he makes the sign of the Cross with two fingers or with three or with one ? It is purity of intention that God requires of us.

Listen now to John Chrysostom who bears witness to this in the fifty-fourth discourse of his commentary on Matthew : “You are bought with a price paid on your behalf, and it does not fit you to be the servant of any man. (Paul) alludes by the word ‘price’ to the Cross. We should not make the sign of the Cross with the finger in

<sup>1</sup> Is. lxvi. 3 (Peshitta). The author’s quotation holds good especially in Syriac. He was evidently quoting from memory because he uses the verb “worships” for “blesses” found in Isaiah.

<sup>2</sup> Heb. iv. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Fragments only are left of Cyril’s commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews. Cf. *Pat. Gr.*, lxxiv., vii., 970-975.

<sup>4</sup> The Armenians.

<sup>5</sup> Expressions that mean doing something difficult and queer.

a simple way.”<sup>1</sup> See how he does not say with your “fingers” in plural but with a “finger.”

Further, Moses did not smite the sea with his rod lengthwise and breadthwise three times or twice, but once only lengthwise and another time breadthwise.<sup>2</sup> In this he symbolised the mystery of the sign of the Cross which we should make with one finger only. We wrote at length on this subject in our controversial work against the Chalcedonians and in the special treatise that is found at the end of our work on *Confession*.

Also about their<sup>3</sup> eating oil in Lent.—Against them we will say :

Lo, your laymen drink also wine in Lent ! We will show here only your strange habits of fasting. You do not eat in a utensil where there was food cooked with oil of walnut, but you eat olive oil ! You do not eat raisins and vinegar, but you eat ground sesame,<sup>4</sup> and *maḥṣūr* !<sup>5</sup> You eat that which gives birth to oil, but you do not eat its effect ! Every one knows that ground sesame is as fat as olive oil. You leave out vinegar which is acid, but you eat sumac and pomegranates which are also acid ! You do not eat raisins, but you eat dried figs and other dried fruits ! You strain at gnats, but you swallow camels !<sup>6</sup> Since you follow the Old Testament, like its Nazarites, eat meat in Lent !

In the Armenian Bible wherever the word “oil” is mentioned, it is translated by “fat.” This happened to them through the incompetence of the translators. And instead of saying in their baptism : “So-and-so is impressed with the holy *Chrism*”<sup>7</sup> they say : “with fat !” In this they go against the Sacred Books. Indeed oil comes

<sup>1</sup> *Pat. Gr.*, lviii., 537. Barsalibi quotes also this passage in his treatise against Rabban Ishō which I edited and translated in the first volume of my *Woodbrooke Studies*, p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Where is this found ? The famous East Syrian Doctor, Narsai, states in this connection that in laying down his rod and then lifting it up Moses was making the sign of the cross. When lying down the rod could work no miracles, but when it was lifted up its active power returned to it. See my edition of the works of Narsai in my *Narsai Homiliæ et Carmina*, vol. ii., pp. 123-124.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. your.

<sup>4</sup> *Tahin*. This dish is used even in our days in many parts of Syria and Mesopotamia.

<sup>5</sup> A kind of Oriental dish made of oil of sesame.

<sup>6</sup> Matt. xxiii. 24.

<sup>7</sup> Lit. oil.



out of trees and shrubs, while fat comes out of animals such as sheep and cows.<sup>1</sup> These will suffice.

## CHAPTER IX.

### *Against the Armenians.*

The Armenians further gabble and say : " Why at the time of the Offertory do you open the doors of the Church before everybody to enter ?—Against them we will say :

In the Apostolic times there were five categories of people, who used to go out of church gradually, as we have demonstrated in our book entitled *Rudiments and on the Spiritual and Corporeal Natures*.<sup>2</sup> Now, however, because the righteous are mixed with the sinners and the good with the bad, if we impede people from listening to the living words, they will be completely lost. Indeed, it is by hearing these words that they will repent, and then little by little offer (ecclesiastical) penitence and be worthy of participation in the holy Sacrament. You resemble a man who seeing his friend falling into quagmire, instead of coming and pulling him up, he presses him deeper down up to his neck !

Let us examine the ignorance of the Armenians further and see how unenlightened it is. The Divine Chrism, with which we are ordered to sign rational beings in baptism, they use as a remedy for wounds ! And also they come to (receive) it after they have eaten and drunk ! And also they throw it in rivers, and place horses and donkeys in file in these same rivers so that their wounds should be healed by it ! The holy Chrism that has been given to human beings, lo, ignorant people give to irrational beasts !

The Armenians consecrate their Churches like all others, because this symbolises the Tabernacle, and as faith is one and baptism is one so also the consecration of the Church is one, but they pretend that if a dog or a cat enters into them the holy Chrism flees from them, and they need reconsecration. They do not know that in this fact consecration does not flee from the Church, which, through the

<sup>1</sup> The above sentences are written also on the margins of the MS. but the copyist rightly remarks in Arabic : " This is written redundantly."

<sup>2</sup> See also above.

prayer that is recited in it, is spiritually renovated by the holy Chrism."<sup>1</sup>

They perform another unlawful act : they baptise after they have eaten.

How are they not ashamed to bless the water of baptism after they have drunk ? As the Eucharistic sacrifice is not offered, without fasting, so also baptism is not performed without fasting, because it is the Spirit who comes down on the Eucharistic elements who blesses also (the water of) baptism.

They do another thing : their bishops and their monks eat meat with avidity, and say that beef and fish are on equal footing and are one and the same thing.

If they are right in this and if all meat is one, why do they not eat horse flesh or asinine flesh ? And why do they not understand the words of the Apostle who says : "There is one flesh of fishes, another of birds and another of beasts."<sup>2</sup> And at the beginning of His message our Saviour made use of different kinds of food, and ate meat and thus followed the habit of mankind. He also ate after His resurrection, while He was in no need of food, in order to prove to the Apostles that He had truly risen, but He made use of the monastic food in partaking of fish, bread, and wine, and in this He began the monastic life for us. The Armenians have, therefore, no monks in reality but in name only.

The Theologian said about them as follows : "I do not find that the Armenians are a simple and open race, but rather a secretive and deceitful one."<sup>3</sup> This is borne out by the fact that "they bless with their mouth and curse in their heart."<sup>4</sup> The same Gregory testifies about St. Basil that he never ate meat in his monastic and episcopal life. "He had only one shirt and one mantle ; a bed on the ground, and vigils ; and a body in an unwashed state [the sources of his pride], and that ineffable supper with viands, which consists of the new condiment of bread and salt, and that non-intoxicating and universal beverage furnished to us by the springs."<sup>5</sup>

Although fish looks outwardly like meat, yet in the realm of

<sup>1</sup> Or : "which is renovated by the Holy Spirit."

<sup>2</sup> 1 Cor. xv. 39 (with slight changes).

<sup>3</sup> *Pat. Gr.*, xxxvi., ii., 518.

<sup>4</sup> *Ps.* lxii. 4.

<sup>5</sup> *Pat. Gr.*, xxxvi., ii., 575.

nature it comes between vegetables and flesh of animals. Its life is in water like that of grass and trees, and its death is caused by the absence of water as is also the case with corn and grass, and in spite of the fact that in its taste it is higher than vegetables, it is much lower than the flesh of animals. A lamb and an ox are living beings, and it is very unbecoming for a dead man to eat a living being. Indeed a monk is dead to all passions, and this is the reason why the Doctors have enacted that monks should not come near living food.

In the first book of Clement it is written that bishops should abstain from meat : " The Bishop should not eat meat at all, not because it is blameworthy for him to taste it or to eat it, but on moral considerations <sup>1</sup> arising from the fact that since he is wishing to weaken his body he should not seek that which strengthens it and gives too much life to it." <sup>2</sup> St. John Chrysostom said in the sixty-ninth discourse of his commentary on Matthew : " And their table is also free from all excess and is full of much wisdom. They have no streams of blood, no chunks and big pieces of meat, no condiments, and no delicacies." <sup>3</sup> And Basil said in his letter to Julian : " The art of a chef is non-existent with us. Our knife has no relation to blood, as our food consists of blades of grass, very dry bread and wine that has turned sour." <sup>4</sup>

Further, their priests believe, like the Jews, that pork is unclean and do not taste it.—If this were so why then do you allow your laymen to eat it ?—They retort : " Who allowed you to eat pork ? " —Against them we will say :

It is true that the sons of Shamuni <sup>5</sup> gained spiritual victory because they did not eat it, but it is said that James the brother of our Lord blessed pork and gave it to be eaten. Whatever this may be, if it is unclean why is it eaten by your laymen, and if it is clean why should it not be eaten by your priests ?

They sin in another thing : There is a spiritual affinity which is handed down from John the Baptist, and the Fathers have allowed it to be preserved to future generations because as a spiritual kinship is higher than a carnal kinship, so also spiritual affinity is higher than

<sup>1</sup> Lit. because of mind.

<sup>2</sup> *Rel. Jur. Eccl. Ant.*, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> *Pat. Gr.*, lviii., 653.

<sup>4</sup> *Pat. Gr.*, xxxii., iv., 345.

<sup>5</sup> A holy woman martyred with her seven children in the time of the Maccabees.

consanguinity. And as the Book has ordered that a man should not have any intercourse with a near relative, in the sense that he should not marry any one who is consanguineous with him, so also the Fathers have ordered that spiritual affinity should be kept and that we should not marry any one with whom we have spiritual affinity. They, however, consider spiritual affinity as nothing and marry those with whom they have it.

They do also some other things that are blameworthy. Paul said : "Whosoever shall keep the whole law and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all."<sup>1</sup> The Armenians, whom we see keeping the whole law, should be called new Jews, not in their religion but in their habits : their priests take tithes from the places where corn is thrashed and fruits are pressed, and they have also their share in sheep and cattle with their leather and their skin ; they use unleavened bread on Good Friday ; they sacrifice lambs at Easter, and sprinkle their blood on the doors ; they use unleavened bread for their Eucharist ; they do not mix water with wine in their chalice. They do not know that old things are passed away<sup>2</sup> and that instead of Moses we have Christ ; instead of the Torah, the Gospel ; instead of the Sabbath, Sunday ; instead of the circumcision, baptism ; instead of the prophets, the Apostles ; instead of oxen and lambs, the fattened calf and the true Lamb ; instead of manna and azym, the living bread that came down from heaven ; instead of the Synagogue, the Church ; instead of the land of Judæa, the land of life ; and instead of the earthly Jerusalem, the heavenly Jerusalem which we are expecting.

While the Syrians, the Greeks, the Latins<sup>3</sup> and the Copts take the consecrated Host from the chalice with a spoon, the Armenians take it with their fingers. The spoon symbolises the tongs which Isaiah saw in the hands of the Seraph and with which the latter took the live coal, which he laid upon the mouth of the prophet.<sup>4</sup> Lo, in the old Law also they took the flesh of the sacrifice with a fleshhook of three teeth.<sup>5</sup> Further, there are in the world precious objects which people do not touch with hands, but which they hold in their hands after having wrapped them in linen cloth. We also take the con-

<sup>1</sup> James ii. 10. This quotation is not found in a Pauline Epistle as the author erroneously states.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Cor. v. 17.

<sup>4</sup> Is. vi. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. the Romans.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Sam. ii. 13.

secrated Host with a spoon in order that the hands of the priest may not be smeared with (the Eucharistic) blood.

The Fathers have enacted that we should not genuflect on Sundays and in Pentecostal days, as genuflection is an emblem of our fall. The Armenians do not possess this good habit, but out of ignorance they genuflect on Sundays and in Pentecostal days as they do on a Saturday. If we observe the festival of the Resurrection on a Sunday because in it we rose from our fall into sin, how could we genuflect in it? Indeed we should perform prayers in it while standing and say with David: "*Our enemies, the demons, bent their knees and fell down, but we rose and stood upright.*"<sup>1</sup>

On the very day of Pentecost, however, when we are given the Holy Spirit, we genuflect because we are unable to bear His sight, and so we bring our faces to the ground and hide them therein. Indeed it is the habit of those who see visions to fall on their faces to the ground; this happened when the face of Jesus shone upon the mountain, and the Apostles fell on their faces.<sup>2</sup> Further, since on this day the Holy Spirit came down and we acquired knowledge of the three persons of the Trinity, we offer a full worship to the Father, to the Son and to the Holy Spirit.

That we ought not to genuflect on Sundays we know from the Canons of the three hundred and eighteen (Fathers)<sup>3</sup> who in the last canon wrote as follows: "Whereas there are individuals who genuflect on Sundays and Pentecostal days; in order to secure a uniform practice for all men the holy Synod has seen fit to order that prayers should be offered to the Lord in a standing posture."<sup>4</sup> And Basil the Great teaches us in the twenty-seventh chapter of his discourse to Amphilocheus his uncle as follows: "We perform our prayers on Sundays while standing, but all of us do not know the reason for this: It is not only because having risen with Christ we ought to seek things that are on high—as on the day of Christ's resurrection, while we stand up and pray we bring to the remembrance of our soul the grace that was vouchsafed to us—but also because this day is the image of the world to come. . . . This day is truly one but consists also of eight days, in its reference to the condition that will follow the present

<sup>1</sup> Ps. xx. 8 (Peshitta, with slight changes).

<sup>2</sup> Matt. xvii. 1-6.

<sup>3</sup> Council of Nicea.

<sup>4</sup> Mansi, *Conc. Omn. ampl. Coll.*, ii., 678.



time : to the day which will not end and to which there is no evening, and also to the world which will never grow old. It is necessary, therefore, that the Church should teach its pupils to perform their prayers in it in a standing posture, so that by the constant remembrance of the eternal life we should not forget to prepare our viaticum for our departure to the next world."<sup>1</sup>

That we ought not to genuflect in the Pentecostal days<sup>2</sup> the same St. Basil teaches us in the same Chapter of the same discourse, as follows : "All the Pentecostal days are a remembrance of the resurrection which we are expecting in the world to come. Indeed if that one day is multiplied seven times it will cover the period of the seven hebdomads of the holy Pentecost. In beginning with the first it ends with the last, and so it revolves fifty times for the days that fall between those two days. In this way it possesses the image of eternity, because, as if in a circular motion, it begins and ends with the same signs. That we ought on that day to pray in an erect posture the ecclesiastical canons have taught us, as if to transfer, as it were, our minds from the things of the present to the things of the future"<sup>3</sup>

The Armenians say : "From whom do you descend—you who are Syrians by race?"—Against them we will say :

Neither you know from whom you descend. The name "Armenian" is derived from "Armenia" which is the name of a country (and not of a person). It is we (Syrians) who have enlightened your authors and revealed to them that you are descending from Togarma, who was from the children of Japhet. As to us Syrians we descend racially from Shem, and our father is Kemuel son of Aram,<sup>4</sup> and from this name of Aram we are also called sometimes in the Books by the name of "Arameans." We are called "Syrians" after the name of "Syrus," who built Antioch with its banlieue ; and the country was called after him, "Syria."<sup>5</sup>

We will bring the following (facts) to the notice of the lovers of knowledge :

<sup>1</sup> *Pat. Gr.*, xxxii., iv., 192.

<sup>2</sup> As stated above the author refers here to the days that follow the first Sunday of Pentecost.

<sup>3</sup> *Pat. Gr.*, xxxii., iv., 192.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. xxii. 21, says that Kemuel was the father and not the son of Aram. This error is also committed by the Syrian lexicographers, and seems to have its origin in the fact that in Gen. x. 22, Aram is given as the son of Shem.

<sup>5</sup> This information seems to be legendary.

It is now four hundred and forty years since the Armenians came into the region of Syria and took possession of our countries, monasteries and villages. We had the Patriarch Mar Athanasius, who in the year one thousand and thirty-seven of the Greeks<sup>1</sup> effected his union with Ohannes their Catholicos<sup>2</sup> in Manasgert<sup>3</sup> of the interior. At that time, since the Kingdom of the Armenians was conquered by the Persians who were holding sway in it, they began to come down little by little to Syria. When the Patriarch Athanasius noticed that all those who came followed either the Chalcedonians or the Julianists because they had neither a priest nor a bishop in Syria, he apprised of this fact the Catholicos Ohannes, who sent three bishops to Syria, and these received every Armenian who came down from Armenia.

And our Patriarch alienated to Ohannes a monastery situated on the frontiers (of Syria and Armenia), and he placed therein Syrian and Armenian boys, who learnt both the Syriac and Armenian languages and translated the works of the Fathers from Syriac into Armenian. After the death of our Patriarch and of their (Catholicos) Ohannes, they broke their engagements and committed injustices against our people. Even the language they use in Armenia does not resemble the one they speak here, because the latter resembles Syriac. After this, little by little they seized our churches and the monasteries situated in the Black Mountain,<sup>4</sup> and after the help that we extended to them they became our adversaries.<sup>5</sup>

They have also another habit which is against both nature and Book. All the festivals of the Divine Economy of the Lord, and all

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 726.

<sup>2</sup> This union of the West Syrian and Armenian Churches is described by Barhebræus, *Chron. Eccl.*, i., 299-304, and more fully by Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, ii., 492-500, where the conditions of the union are also given. About this union see also Stephen Asolik, in *Bibl. de l'École des langues Orient.*, xviii., 131 (edit. Dulaurier), and Stephen Orbélian, *Histoire de la Siounie*, p. 252 (edit. Brosset).

<sup>3</sup> Armenian episcopal see spelt also *Manazgherd*, *Mandzgerd*, etc. The author adds "of the interior" to distinguish this town from another locality of the same name. See Tournebize, *Hist. pol. et relig. de l'Arménie*, pp. 850 and 852 and the pages quoted in them. The *Chronicle* of Michael calls it *Manavazkerd* (p. 496). It was situated on the borders of Hark and Apahunik.

<sup>4</sup> It is the mountain of *Amanus*.

<sup>5</sup> The above historical information is very interesting, especially in its bearing on the translation into Armenian of the works of the Syrian Fathers at the beginning of the eighth century.

the commemorations of saints are celebrated by Christians on the day in which our Lord performed the acts that refer to them, and on the day in which the martyrs earned the crown of martyrdom. The Armenians, however, do not act in this way, but transfer the feasts from the day on which they fall to a Sunday, and on this day they celebrate them, with the exception of the festival of the baptism of our Lord which they celebrate on the sixth of January.

The great Theologian counted it as a loss and a spiritual injury that he missed by one day the commemoration of Cyprian, because he wrote as follows : "Cyprian was about to escape us ! What a loss ! And you bear it !" <sup>1</sup> See how much it pained St. Gregory that he was not in town, and that he had missed by one day the right day of the commemoration of the Saint, while you celebrate the same commemoration four days after its appointed time !

They have another unlawful habit : among them the priest blesses the bishop and the bishop blesses the Catholicos, and after they have blessed them they in their turn are blessed by them. They do not listen to Paul, who says : "Without contradiction the less is blessed of the better." <sup>2</sup> Tell us now who is better, the bishop or the priest ? If the bishop is better, the priest is to be blessed by him and not he by the priest. If you say that both are equal in honour and in ordination, why then does not a priest ordain a deacon or another priest ? It is written in the Apostolic Canons that the priest blesses those who are under him, and is blessed by those who are above him. <sup>3</sup>

The discourse of the author, Mar Dionysius, ceases and ends here, after having successively rebuked the Muslims, the Jews, the Nestorians, the Chalcedonians and the habits of the Armenians. <sup>4</sup> And you, O diligent and industrious friend, who asked him to write this work, which has now come to an end according to your expectation, offer a prayer for him, in order that he may be worthy of the joyful meeting with the One who forms the subject of the discussion and for whose sake we are being attacked by the heretics, namely, our Lord and our God Jesus Christ, to whom be praise in conjunction with His Father and His Holy Spirit now, at all time, and for ever and ever ! Amen !

<sup>1</sup> *Pat. Gr.*, xxxv., i., 1169.

<sup>2</sup> *Heb.* vii. 7.

<sup>3</sup> *De Lagarde's Rel. Jur. Eccl. Antiq.*, p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> See at the beginning my note about the controversial works of Barsalibi.

ANSWERS TO THE OBJECTIONS OF THE DISORDERLY ARMENIANS.

Our weak discourse will extend now to the solution of the nauseating objections that the Armenians have expectorated and thrown at our people. They say : "Leaven is from digested food and is mortal and corruptible, while azym is incorruptible."—Against them we will say :

If leaven were from digested food and from filth how is it that our Lord likened the Kingdom of Heaven to it? According to your opinion the Kingdom of Heaven, that is to say the Gospel, the teaching and the preaching of Christ are of digested food! Fie, the ignorant! And St. Paul said : "Let us keep the feast not with old leaven, but with leaven of sincerity and purity."<sup>1</sup> According to your opinion "sincerity" and "purity" are digested food! Let the erring (Armenians) know that leaven is a word of neutral morality<sup>2</sup> like mountain, sun, north and such like, and that it is living. This is borne out by the fact that it expands the dough and imparts motion to it, while azym is dead because it does not expand.

When use is made of the word bread, leavened bread is always meant, while azym is simply called "azym" by the Jews; and in the Gospel, wherever azym occurs, the one who eats it calls it "azym" and not "bread." Our Lord said : "I am the bread of life"<sup>3</sup> and not "azym of life."

But the Armenians rejoin : "The Eucharistic bread<sup>4</sup> that has leaven in it becomes mouldy."—Against them we will say :

Azym also, quâ azym, even if baked in ashes, not only becomes mouldy but also rots, and if it does not become mouldy when small in size, it becomes dry like a stone, which is worse than mouldiness. Further, the oil of sesame from which you compose your holy Chrism very often rots and stinks after its consecration, and no one is able to bear its bad smell. Such an oil would, therefore, not possess the power of the Holy Spirit.

They add : "The wine<sup>5</sup> with which water is mixed turns sour."—Against them we will say :

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. v. 8 (Peshitta).

<sup>2</sup> Lit. "middle word." About this expression see above.

<sup>3</sup> John vi. 35.

<sup>4</sup> Lit. "Body." See my note above.

<sup>5</sup> Eucharistic wine.

Pagans and sun-worshippers offer in sacrifice pure wine like the (Armenians), and so also do the Jews ; but in spite of that how many barrels of such pure wine turn sour ! It is for this reason that we do not pay attention to the material elements of bread, wine and oil, but we only consider the grace of the Spirit that inhabits and dwells in them. Their baptismal water also if it remains a day or two <sup>1</sup> in the font will begin to rot, and would, therefore, possess no baptismal power !

That the azymous Eucharistic bread is corruptible and mortal is borne out by the fact that it does not remain in its soft and pliable condition, but becomes dry and hard like a stone, so much so that you break it with a knife or with a stone, as one who is killed and dies ; and then you soften it with wine and soak it in it, because of its hardness. In this way it changes and suffers modification first by taking upon itself the nature of stone or of wood, and then by becoming again pliable and soft. In this process it becomes desecrated,<sup>2</sup> on account of its having been softened by a non-consecrated wine.

Further, we will also answer you that since all nations eat leavened bread, they would all be eating digested food ! And you also would be eating every day the digested food of Adam, of the son of Noah and of your wives !<sup>3</sup> Fie, your sad lot, not to say your crass Ignorance ! Your head Tiridates<sup>4</sup> was also a wild boar, and you are, like him, wild boars which are cruel and vicious, and also dirty and filthy like domesticated swine !<sup>5</sup>

The erring Armenians say that we should not mix water with the wine of the chalice.—Against them we will say :

All the Christian nations beside you mix water with the wine of the chalice in order to separate themselves from Jews and pagans. The Fathers bear witness to us on this subject, and John the Evāngelist confirms the point by means of the water which, he asserts, came out of the side of our Lord. If you pretend that water came out in order to baptise Adam,<sup>6</sup> we will answer : Adam was baptised twice ;

<sup>1</sup> In the sense of some days.

<sup>2</sup> The author is speaking of a consecrated Host made of unleavened bread.

<sup>3</sup> See above the opinion of the Armenians about the origin of leaven.

<sup>4</sup> In the text *Tariat* which is almost identical with the West Armenian pronunciation *Driad*. See Tournebize, *Histoire de l'Arménie* (passim).

<sup>5</sup> These are harsh expressions.

<sup>6</sup> On this subject see above.



he was baptised the first time when our Lord was baptised, and in His baptism He baptised him, because our Lord was baptised for us and for Adam and not for Himself. By putting on the flesh of Adam, He was baptised not for Himself, as we say, but for Adam, and this is the reason why He was called the second Adam. He baptised him for the second<sup>1</sup> time when He saw him wounded, and bound up his wound and poured into them wine and also oil, which symbolises baptism.<sup>2</sup>

That Christ was baptised for us and for Adam, and this in the Jordan, is borne out by the Theologian, who says in his discourse on baptism: "And Christ was baptised at the age of thirty. . . . Since you have said "God" you have solved the question. He was purity itself and was in no need of baptism. He was purified for you in the same way as He put on flesh for you."<sup>3</sup> See how he says that Christ was baptised for us in the Jordan and not on the Cross. If you do not believe this, you will have to admit that He was baptised twice, not counting the baptism of martyrdom,<sup>4</sup> about which He said: "I have a baptism to be baptised with."<sup>5</sup>

Know also that only the cranium of Adam was in Golgotha, and so only his head would have been baptised—indeed, not all his head but only its bones! Who would ever baptise bones or a dead man, save you, who receive also priesthood from a dead hand!<sup>6</sup> When you baptise somebody, his head only is baptised and not all his body! And what would you answer Paul who proclaimed one baptism only,<sup>7</sup> while you say that Adam was baptised twice, once in the Jordan and another time on the Cross?<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Text: third.

<sup>2</sup> The author refers here to the man who fell among thieves (Luke x. 30-37), and whom he believes to be Adam and his posterity. See above.

<sup>3</sup> *Pat. Gr.*, xxxvi., ii., 400.

<sup>4</sup> Lit. murder.

<sup>5</sup> Luke xii. 50.

<sup>6</sup> To understand this sentence concerning a dead hand imparting priesthood I would refer the reader to the treatise of the same Baršalibi against Rabban Ishō', which I edited and translated in my *Woodbrooke Studies*, vol. i., pp. 44, although in the present case the dead hand is that of Gregory the Illuminator and not that of the Baptist. This dead hand of the Illuminator is also spoken of below.

<sup>7</sup> Eph. iv. 5.

<sup>8</sup> The author asserted above that Adam was baptised twice, once in the Jordan and another time when he fell among thieves and his wounds were healed by the good Samaritan. To save the author from contradiction we must assert that he believes the second baptism to be figurative only and not real. This interpretation is suggested by the tenor of his discourse here and above. Is it possible that for "Adam" we should read "Christ"?

## THE ANSWER TO THE SECOND OBJECTION, BY DIONYSIUS.

It is time now to proceed under this head and rebuke the nation of dirty habits. They say : "Because you put leaven in your Eucharistic bread it becomes mouldy."—Against them we will say :

O ignorant people, with us the Eucharistic bread does not remain more than one day, and in case of necessity, not more than seven days. We do not make it in the form of large round loaves, so as to keep a long time and then run the risk of mouldiness and decomposition. You try and make your unleavened bread in the form of large-sized loaves, and you will see how after some days they will swarm with worms ! But listen, you people of no understanding : the manna came down from heaven, and David calls it the bread of angels ; <sup>1</sup> now if this manna, which the Father sent to the Israelitish nation and which has been called heavenly bread, stank and bred worms as it is written <sup>2</sup> whenever people gathered too much of it—and this in spite of the fact that it contained neither leaven nor salt—the Eucharistic leavened bread also, that is to say, the body (of Christ), even if it becomes mouldy, will not lose its consecration.

Tell us now : Why did the manna suffer decomposition ? If you say because it possessed no Divine power, the Torah and the Gospel will give you the lie, especially Paul who said : "And all ate the same food of the Spirit."<sup>3</sup> See how he calls the manna the food of the Holy Spirit. He did not say that after it began to stink it was no more a heavenly bread, as you blasphemously assert. This quotation should rebuke you.

If a lax priest keeps the Eucharistic bread <sup>4</sup> too long it will become mouldy, although, by itself, this Eucharistic bread is neither corruptible nor mortal. This happens firstly in order that it may not be believed to be only a phantasm, and secondly in order that it may not be kept for days, like the manna which was eaten in the day in which it came down, and only kept intact from Friday to Saturday. As Christ after His resurrection showed in His body the print of the nails <sup>5</sup>—although this same body was incorruptible—in order that it may not be believed to be a phantasm of no material reality, so also when the

<sup>1</sup> Ps. lxxviii. 25 (Peshitta).

<sup>3</sup> 1 Cor. x. 3 (Peshitta).

<sup>5</sup> John xx. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. xvi. 20.

<sup>4</sup> Literally, "body" as usual

Eucharistic bread is kept too long, mouldiness appears in it to show that we are still in the world of corruption.

But as we have shown above, the blasphemers say that because leaven is from the dirt, that is to say the digested food, of Adam—or as some others assert, the digested food of the son of Noah—we do not mix it with the Eucharistic bread.

Fie, the wretched ! What has Satan taught them ! Since you do not know how leaven came into the world, why do you utter a nonsense that turns against you ? If leaven is from digested food, why do you bless the table and make the sign of the Cross over the bread which is laid upon it and which is made of this same leaven ? Do you then eat digested food ? If you say that through thanksgiving, benediction and the sign of the Cross the filth of leaven goes away, you should also admit that by the invocation and power of the Holy Spirit the Eucharistic bread and leaven is blessed, sanctified and changed into the body (of Christ).<sup>1</sup> In the case your prayers and the signs of the Cross over the table had not the power to remove the filth of leaven, you would be eating digested food every day, and the power of this digested food would be so strong as to overcome your benedictions !

Listen now to another thing which you do : " Why, when you find a mouse in your food, you throw its flesh away and eat the food into which it had fallen ? We will now put a mouse in one of your hands, and filth, that is to say digested food, in the other, and then take you to all nations and ask them : " Which of these two is more unclean, the mouse or the digested food from which you pretend that leaven is derived ? " All will testify that digested food is more unclean, because it comes out of the bowels, with bad smells caused by vapours and fumes which emanate from an agglomeration of excrements, and that a mouse is a creature of God, like all other creeping animals, the like of which Simon saw in a vessel, and God said to him : " Arise, slay and eat ; what God hath cleansed that make not unclean." <sup>3</sup>

If all (the nations) agree that a mouse is clean, it is only for the

<sup>1</sup> The author in conjunction with all Eastern Fathers believes that the consecratory words in the Mass are those of the *epiclesis* and not those of the *Institution*.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. said.

<sup>3</sup> Acts xi. 7-9.

sake of a man's conscience that we throw it out of the wine into which it had fallen and then bless the same wine. As to you, you bake leaven, or digested food, in the oven, and then put it in your cooked food and eat it! How dirty and filthy you are! Even more so than the napkin of an unclean woman!

Further, why do you not test by an experiment that leaven is from digested food? Whenever you are short of leaven take some of your digested food and make new leaven!

When Christ multiplied bread for the multitudes, the evangelist did not say that there were five loaves of azym, but of bread, from which five thousand ate and were filled.<sup>1</sup> He also fed four thousand from seven loaves of bread,<sup>2</sup> and there is not one commentator who says that those loaves were unleavened but leavened. If Christ blessed leavened bread, why do you then run like Jews after azym?

After having brought testimonies from the Gospel and from the Apostle Paul to the effect that leaven is not an object to be despised and that there is no unclean creature, apart from sin, which enters from outside; and after having shown how the conscience of Peter, who had believed that there was an unclean creature, was set right by the Lord through a sheet full of unclean animals—we will quote Paul who teaches that water is to be mixed with the (Eucharistic) wine. He says: "All our fathers were under the cloud, and all passed through the sea, and were all baptised unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea. And did all eat the same spiritual meat, and did all drink the same drink of the spirit, for they drank of that rock of the spirit that followed them."<sup>3</sup> The cloud denotes here the mystery of the Holy Spirit; the sea, that of baptism; the manna, that of the Eucharistic bread; and the drink, that of the Eucharistic wine. All are aware of the fact that that rock was jetting forth water and not wine, and that the rock itself was Christ.<sup>4</sup> Those, therefore, who offer on the altar wine alone without water are in error. Wine and water symbolise the soul and the body which the Word-God assumed, the water symbolises His death in the flesh, and wine His life, that is to say His divinity. The Book bears witness to this when it says: "As often as you drink of this cup remember my death."<sup>5</sup> Those who

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xiv. 17-19, etc.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Cor. x. 1-4.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Cor. x. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. xv. 34-36.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Cor. xi. 26.

do not mix water with wine do not remember, therefore, the death of our Lord, and go against the Gospel and Paul.

We ought further to discuss this question with the fledgelings of the crows, the sons of Togarma : The wine which you offer on the altar comes from a vine which was first fed on digested food, and then grew up and gave fruit. Its grapes were afterwards brought to the press where they were trodden out and pressed under the feet of men and boys, and sometimes of women also.<sup>1</sup> It often happens that among those who trod out the wine there were thieves, adulterers, murderers, and perpetrators of many other crimes. After the wine was pressed it was kept in barrels, from which you drew it and offered it in sacrifice. Now tell us this : Who purified the uncleanness of the wine which was pressed under feet that were filthy and full of dirt and sin ? Is it the barrels into which it was poured, or the prayers and the benedictions of the Mass ?<sup>2</sup>

If you answer : the barrel ; your barrels would, therefore, have more merits than your benedictions and your prayers. If you answer that the prayers and the benedictions which are recited over the wine which had been made unclean by dirty feet, sanctify it—you would contradict yourselves and the truth, because if unclean wine, pressed by unclean feet, can be sanctified by prayers, how is it that you are not able to sanctify the wine into which falls a mouse, which is not unclean in its creation and which has no sins ?<sup>3</sup>

We would further say to you : Among animals there are some which are unclean and which eat every filthy thing, such as pigs among beasts, hens among birds, and fishes among reptiles. Now answer us "Yea" or "Nay" : when you eat these, do you also eat the uncleanness that has stuck to them, that is to say, do you eat the saliva that comes out of the mouths and the snouts of the pigs and the mire in which they wallow ? Do you eat reptiles and the flesh of dead animals, such as horses and donkeys ? Do you also eat the dirt which hens eat, and the corpses of men which are eaten by fish along with the filth, the frogs, the crabs and the like which they eat in the sea ? If you answered that you could not bless them with prayers and with the sign of the Cross, you would be unclean like

<sup>1</sup> Even in our days the grapes are pressed with feet in many villages of Kurdistan and Asia Minor.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. of the offering, *i.e.* of the liturgical invocations.

<sup>3</sup> See above what the author says about the Armenians and the mouse.



pigs, hens and fishes ; and if you answered that you blessed them with prayers and with the sign of the Cross, we would be winning victory over you by means of your own weapon, because it is with these same prayers and heavenly benedictions that we bless the leaven that is mixed with the dough, which becomes the body of Christ.

If you add that fire purifies the uncleanness of the flesh of the pigs, the fishes and the hens, the power of fire would then be more effective than that of your prayers, and in this case the uncleanness of leaven would also be purified with this same fire. As to us we sanctify the wine which is mixed with water with thanksgiving and prayer, and it becomes the blood of Christ. And it is also by Divine power and by means of sacerdotal benedictions that we bless every vessel, food or drink into which a mouse falls, and uncleanness flees from it.

We wrote to you<sup>1</sup> in a succinct manner about the objections raised against you by those who strain at gnats and swallow camels.<sup>2</sup> Who is more unclean in the eyes of God : a man who is an adulterer, a thief and a murderer, or an irrational animal against which there is no judgment ?

Against the heresy of Julian in which the Armenians are lying prostrate and of (the errors of) which we only discussed a few for the consideration of some of their notables ; and against the Jewish habits which they are holding, we wrote a complete book. When that book reaches you,<sup>3</sup> you will be able to confute them, especially in the matter of the pagan sacrifices which they offer and in which they indulge. They do not listen to Isaiah who says : " He that killeth an ox is as if he slew a man ; he that sacrificeth a lamb as if he cut off a dog's neck ; he that offereth an oblation as if he offered swine's blood ; he that burneth frankincense as if he blessed idols."<sup>4</sup>

They have not even priesthood, because they receive it from the dead hand of Gregory.<sup>5</sup> A dead man is not to be taken up to the

<sup>1</sup> The Syrian correspondent in answer to whose queries Barṣalibi wrote the present solutions of the objections of the Armenians.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. xxiii. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. your hands.

<sup>4</sup> Is. lxvi. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Text *Krikor* according to the Armenian pronunciation. The author refers here to the claim of the Armenian Catholicos of Cilicia who pretends that he is the only man who can give a valid ordination, as no episcopal ordination is valid without putting on the head of the ordinand the arm of Gregory the Illuminator, which he possessed. See Tournebize, *Hist. pol. et relig. de l'Arménie*, p. 362.

altar as St. Basil says, and priesthood is a gift from heaven, and it is conferred by means of prayers, and not by heredity or by transmission from one to another—or by the imposition of a dead hand on the head—in order to (satisfy) the greed of their priests and their love for ecclesiastical honours which they snatch from one another by Simony.

The fact that they take bribes in conferring priesthood, and that they collect gold from people who are blameworthy and from those who have indulged in third marriages, is against the admonitions of the Apostles, who have warned us not to accept gifts from people of reprehensible conduct as long as they remain in their sinful state.

It is not the time to dilate on the fact that they have no monasticism in practice, but only the outward sign of it which consists in the woollen garment from sheep and the haircloth cowl from goats, which their monks wear ; indeed, in no other Christian nation do woollen wearers<sup>1</sup> eat meat besides them. What incites the wrath of God is that, even their (spiritual) heads and their bishops eat meat, and in our days they openly and defiantly<sup>2</sup> eat young pigs and chickens.

Christ did not eat meat when He rose from the dead but fish and honey, and in this He taught us the ascetic life of monasticism, in which after one wears the garb one ought not to eat meat. Furthermore, in enacting that monks should not eat meat the Apostles wished them not to be prone to choler. Lambs, sheep and cattle which are not meat eaters are meek, while wolves, tigers, lions and other carnivorous beasts are wrathful. It is for this reason that Christ likened His disciples to lambs, and the men of the world who consume meat to wolves,<sup>3</sup> etc.

#### THE ANSWER TO THE THIRD OBJECTION, BY DIONYSIUS.

You have asked : “ Which precedes the other : night or day, evening or morning ? ” We answer you as follows :—

St. John Chrysostom, St. Basil and some other Doctors say that the (Book) calls the end of the day “ evening ” and the end of the night “ morning,” and add that when Moses said : “ And the evening and the morning were the first day ”<sup>4</sup> he showed that the day and the night marked the completion of one day. These Doctors affirm that

<sup>1</sup> Monks.

<sup>3</sup> Matt. x. 16, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. with uncovered head.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. i. 5.

the day precedes the night. Other Doctors, however, assert that (Moses) refers by the word "evening" to the night, and by the word "morning" to the day,<sup>1</sup> and thus, they say, the (above sentence) means: "And the night and the day constituted the first day." These last Doctors assert that the night precedes the day.

Moses bar Kepha interprets the sentence as meaning that when the day finished its hours and the night finished also its hours, a complete day was then finished; and Basil and John Chrysostom, who say that the day precedes the night, assert that darkness which was spread upon the face of the deep,<sup>2</sup> before light was created, is not called night but darkness. When Moses said: "and the evening was" he did not call that darkness "evening," but he referred by this word "evening" to the end of the day. This is known by the fact that after light was created and it had finished its hours, he said: "and the evening was." If Moses had said "and the light was" before the creation of the light, one might have supposed that by the word "evening" he was referring to that darkness. As it is "evening" denotes the end of the day. And the (evangelists) Matthew and John called also the end of the day, that is to say, the time in which the sun sets, "evening."

As to the Greeks and Armenians they count all the night of the preceding day,<sup>3</sup> and if one tells them that the children of Israel were ordered to keep the Passover from the evening and the night, and that the Christians also begin the festival of the Resurrection from the evening and the night, some of them answer: "According to the law of the sun the day precedes the night, and according to the law of the moon the night precedes the day."—Against them we will say:

(The moon) does not cause the days and the nights nor the mornings and the evenings, but only the months. And from the habits (of the people) and from the Book we infer also that the night precedes the day. This is confirmed by the fact that the Jews began their rest from the evening of the Sabbath day, and from the fact that we Christians first observe the vigils of festivals and recite the nocturns and after them the Matins,<sup>4</sup> and from the fact that our Lord rose in the night and that night is counted as that of Sunday. If they say

<sup>1</sup> The word used in this connection refers to the time when it is light.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. i. 2.

<sup>3</sup> I translate this sentence literally.

<sup>4</sup> Note the Syriac word *ṣaprawātha*.

that the first half of the night belongs to Saturday and the second half is allotted to Sunday, they will not be telling the truth because nobody believes that the night is divided into two parts. If this were so the day also will have to be divided into two parts, and likewise every day composed of twenty-four hours will have to be counted as two days and two nights.

The Apostle also counted the night before the day because he said : " I was night and day in the abyss." <sup>1</sup>

After having spoken above of the opinion of the Doctors, we would say that it is of no consequence whether we eat on the evening of Friday or we fast like the Syrians. What is of consequence is that we should fast one evening, and fast will not be kept as it should be if we do not fast on Thursday evening and on Saturday evening. There are among our people those who eat non-abstinence food up to the tenth or eleventh hour (which marks) the end of Thursday and the beginning of Friday. He who eats at the eleventh hour at the beginning of Friday, is no more in need of abstinence food or of the food used for fasting.

We follow nature and Book by beginning our fast at the beginning of the night of Friday till the beginning of the night of Saturday.<sup>2</sup> In the same way all nations begin to perform their prayers at the beginning of the night of the festivals, and (finish them) afterwards on the day (of these festivals). The Greeks and the Armenians fast before the festivals, like us ; and do not work on the evening of Sunday and Friday, like us ; and recite the prayers of the festivals on the eve and in the night of the day in which they fall, like us, but on the question of fasting they contradict themselves because they begin to fast from the morning of the day till the morning of the following day.

They recite the prayers of the Sunday of the Resurrection in the evening of Sunday, and they pretend that it is the night of Saturday ! They are rebuked by the Books which teach us that Christ rose from His tomb in the night of Sunday and not in the night of Saturday. In one thing they are to be praised : they begin to fast from morning till morning, that is to say at a time when the stomach is empty ! Their mode of fasting contradicts the mode of their prayers and their observances.

<sup>1</sup> 2 Cor. x. 25 (Harklean).

<sup>2</sup> I have translated all the above sentences literally. See above (chapter iii.).

As to us although we are right in our fasting in the evening of Wednesday and Friday, we do not keep this fast as it should be, because we eat meat in the evening of Wednesday and in the evening of Friday till a late hour, *i.e.* till the sun is about to set, and because we eat meat at sunset we are taunted every day that we eat meat.<sup>1</sup>

We will discuss here the controversy among various nations concerning the word "evening." Some people call the night "evening," and some others call "evening" the time of sunset. Both of these opinions are right, but it should always be conceded that the night precedes the day. Moses said: "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. And the earth was without form and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep."<sup>2</sup> From these words we learn that "the heaven," *i.e.* fire and air, and "the earth," *i.e.* earth and water,<sup>3</sup> were created at the time of "darkness." Now darkness is not by itself an entity but only a negation of light. The elements were still mingled with one another, and the purifying fire was not yet separated from earth and water, nor was then the air pure and clear. This is the reason that caused that darkness.

If some one asks us: "Why did God create the world in darkness?" We will answer: in order that the paramount necessity of light might be made manifest, when it did appear, so that it might be the symbol of the world that was sitting in darkness and error, and its subsequent illumination by Christ.

When that darkness which was spread upon the face of the deep finished its twelve hours, and thus completed a full night, God said: "Let there be light;"<sup>4</sup> and when this light finished its twelve hours, a full day of twenty-four hours was completed; and Moses said afterwards: "And there was evening and there was morning, one day."<sup>5</sup> In this he called night "evening" and day "morning." That darkness is called night is borne out by Moses himself who adds: "And God called the light day, and the darkness he called night." To all these St. Ephrem bears witness when he says: "The heaven and the earth were first created in the evening, *i.e.* at the beginning of the night. When that darkness which was spread upon the face of the deep finished its twelve hours, light was created, and it was day; and

<sup>1</sup> For further details about the Greek, Armenian and Syrian mode of fasting see above (chapter iii.).

<sup>2</sup> Gen. i. 1-2.

<sup>3</sup> The author refers here to the four elements.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. i. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Gen. i. 5 (Peshitta Version, which I translate here literally).



when light finished its twelve hours, the firmament was created in the evening of the second night."

Basil and John Chrysostom, affirm, as we said above, that Moses means by "evening" the end of the day, and by "morning" the end of the night, and say that this day and this night denote the completion of a full day.

Let us now come to the words of the Evangelists. Matthew wrote: "In the end of the Sabbath, the evening of Sunday."<sup>1</sup> And Mark: "And when the even was come, that is the day before the Sabbath."<sup>2</sup> And Luke: "And that day was Friday and was the evening of the Sabbath<sup>3</sup> . . . And on Sunday, while it was yet dark, they came unto the sepulchre."<sup>4</sup> And John: "And the Jews, therefore, because it was Friday, so that the bodies should not remain upon the Cross in the evening of the Sabbath day<sup>5</sup> . . . And there they laid Jesus because the Sabbath day was beginning<sup>6</sup> . . . And on Sunday cometh Mary Magdalene early, when it was yet dark<sup>7</sup> . . . Then when it was evening of Sunday."<sup>8</sup>

These are the words of the four Evangelists, and from them some people call the end of the day, or the time of sunset, "evening," as John said: "the evening of the Sabbath day," while some others refer the word evening to all the night, as Matthew said: "And in the end of the Sabbath, the evening of Sunday," where he refers by the word evening to the end of Saturday and to the night of Sunday.

We say then that the night precedes the day, as the Books testify. As to the word "evening" it is used in two meanings in the Books (of the Old Testament) and in the Gospel, and each Doctor has adopted the particular meaning that suited him. Evening denotes the end of the day, the time of sunset, as John said: "When it was the evening of Sunday," or "When it was the evening of Friday," that is the end of the day.<sup>9</sup> The Books call also night "evening," as in the sentence: "And there was evening and there was morning, one day."<sup>10</sup> Here Moses calls all the night "evening," and all the day "morning," and from a part he argues to the whole.

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xxviii. 1 (Syriac Version).

<sup>2</sup> Mark xv. 42.

<sup>3</sup> Luke xxiii. 54 (Syriac Version).

<sup>4</sup> Luke xxiv. 1 (Syriac Version).

<sup>5</sup> John xix. 31.

<sup>6</sup> John xix. 42.

<sup>7</sup> John xx. 1.

<sup>8</sup> John xx. 19.

<sup>9</sup> The author uses here two Syriac words that are more or less synonymous and mean "evening."

<sup>10</sup> Here also I translate the Peshitta Version.

The (Armenians) do another thing which is contrary to Book and to nature : when their bishops and their monks wish to eat meat, they bring a hen, rub salt in its beak and afterwards slaughter it. They pretend that salt transforms the hens and other birds, and sheep which eat salt, and sanctifies them, and justifies the monks in eating them, as if they were vegetables. The ignorant do not know that all flesh and every sacrifice are seasoned with salt,<sup>1</sup> and that salt cannot condemn, justify, and sanctify. How is it that in the matter of your Eucharistic bread which is made of azym you flee from salt in order that it may not desecrate it, and here this same salt consecrates your sacrifices and the meat which you put in your stomach ? If the salt which is consumed by beasts and birds when rubbed in the beak,<sup>2</sup> of a hen, sanctifies meat and transforms it into vegetables, why do you not give salt to lambs at Lent,<sup>3</sup> and then eat the meat of these lambs instead of vegetables ?

The ignorant say here : " Why do you bless and then eat cooked food into which a mouse had fallen, after having cast the mouse out ? Who flees from flesh and then eats the food in which it was found ? " —Against them we will say :

We do not deliberately throw a mouse into our food, nor do we consider it as (eatable) flesh or as an unclean object. It is indeed God's creature and " every creature of God is good, and nothing is defiled if it be received with thanksgiving." <sup>4</sup> If there were an unclean creature the blame would be God's. Hear now how Paul rebukes you by saying : " Everything is blessed and sanctified by the word of God ; " <sup>5</sup> from which it follows that you have neither benediction nor sanctification, as the power of a mouse exceeds that of your priests. Further, as you wash the utensil of brass or iron into which a mouse had fallen and been cooked, and then eat in the same utensil, because the heat from outside has removed the smell of the burnt mouse ; and as you drink water from a cistern in which a mouse was drowned and to which all its uncleanness had stuck, so we throw the mouse out and then bless and drink the wine, as Paul taught us.

*Here end the answers to the Objections of the Armenians.*

<sup>1</sup> Lev. ii. 13 ; Mark ix. 49.

<sup>2</sup> The phrase *b-nafshakh* " in thy soul " of the text is unintelligible. A word or two may have been omitted by the copyist.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. " Christ's fast."

<sup>4</sup> 1 Tim. iv. 4.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Tim. iv. 5.



Handwritten text in Arabic script, arranged in approximately 15 vertical columns. The script is dense and appears to be a form of early modern Arabic or Persian.

Handwritten text in Arabic script, arranged in approximately 15 vertical columns. The script is dense and appears to be a form of early modern Arabic or Persian.



11

The image shows a page from a manuscript, likely a liturgical book, featuring musical notation on staves. The notation is square neumes on a four-line staff. The text is written in a Gothic script below the staves. The page is numbered '11' in the top right corner.

[illegible]



151  
[Illegible handwritten text in a single column]

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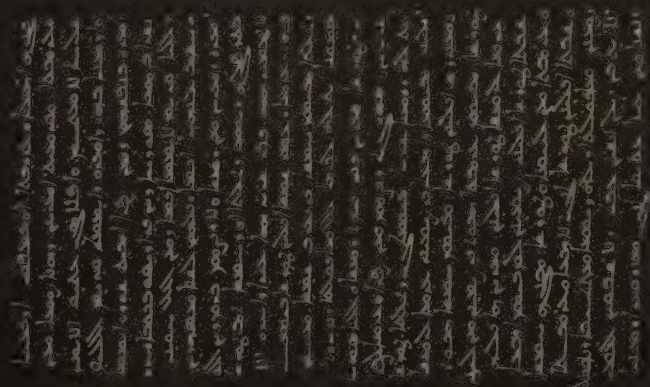
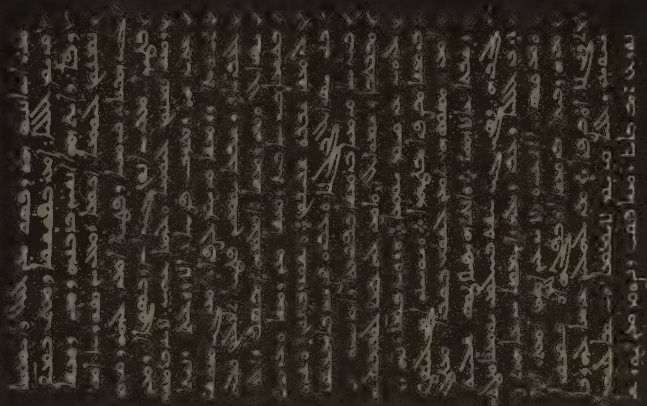
Handwritten musical notation on a dark background, consisting of multiple staves with notes and clefs.

Handwritten musical notation on a dark background, consisting of multiple staves with notes and clefs.

Handwritten musical notation on a single system, featuring a series of notes and rests arranged in a single line. The notation is dense and appears to be a single melodic line.

Handwritten musical notation on a single system, featuring a series of notes and rests arranged in a single line. The notation is dense and appears to be a single melodic line.





Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a medieval manuscript. The text is arranged in approximately 15 columns, with some lines starting with large, decorated initials. The script is dense and flowing, characteristic of the late Middle Ages.

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Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a manuscript. The text is arranged in approximately 15 lines, with some lines starting with a large initial letter. The script is dense and difficult to decipher.

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a manuscript. The text is arranged in approximately 15 lines, with some lines starting with a large initial letter. The script is dense and difficult to decipher.

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a manuscript. The text is arranged in approximately 15 vertical columns, reading from right to left. The script is dense and appears to be a form of shorthand or a highly stylized cursive. The ink is dark, and the background is a light, aged paper.

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a manuscript. The text is arranged in approximately 15 vertical columns, reading from right to left. The script is dense and appears to be a form of shorthand or a highly stylized cursive. The ink is dark, and the background is a light, aged paper.

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a medieval manuscript. The text is arranged in approximately 15 vertical columns, reading from right to left. The script is dense and features many ligatures and flourishes. The parchment is aged and shows some staining.

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a medieval manuscript. The text is arranged in approximately 15 vertical columns, reading from right to left. The script is dense and features many ligatures and flourishes. The parchment is aged and shows some staining.



Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a musical score or a list of names, arranged in approximately 15 vertical columns. The script is dense and difficult to decipher.

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a musical score or a list of names, arranged in approximately 15 vertical columns. The script is dense and difficult to decipher.

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a musical score or a list of names, arranged in approximately 15 vertical columns. The script is dense and difficult to decipher.





17

The image shows a page from a manuscript, likely a liturgical book, featuring musical notation. The notation is written on four-line red staves. The notes are square neumes, some of which are decorated with red ink. The text is written in a Gothic script below the staves. The page is numbered '17' in the top left corner. The manuscript is bound in a dark cover, and the page is slightly aged and discolored.

11

The image shows a page from a manuscript, likely a liturgical book, featuring musical notation. The notation is written on four-line red staves using square neumes. The text is written in a Gothic script below the staves. The page is numbered '11' in the top right corner. The notation appears to be a form of Gregorian chant or similar medieval liturgical music. The ink is dark, and the paper shows signs of age and wear.







Handwritten text in a medieval script, likely Gothic or similar, arranged in approximately 15 columns. The text is written on a dark, aged parchment or paper, with some visible staining and wear. The script is dense and fills most of the page area.

Handwritten text in a medieval script, likely Gothic or similar, arranged in approximately 15 columns. The text is written on a dark, aged parchment or paper, with some visible staining and wear. The script is dense and fills most of the page area.

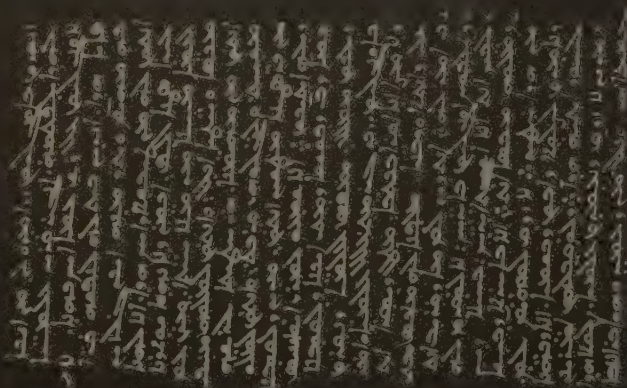
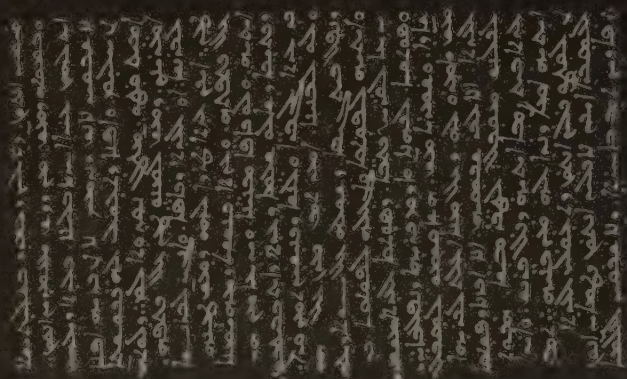
Handwritten text in a medieval script, likely Gothic or similar, arranged in approximately 15 columns. The text is written on a dark, aged parchment or paper, with some visible staining and wear. The script is dense and fills most of the page area.



10

Handwritten musical notation on staves, likely from a medieval manuscript. The notation consists of square neumes written on four-line red staves. The text is written in a Gothic script below the staves.

[illegible]





Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a musical score or a list of numbers, arranged in approximately 15 columns and 10 rows. The script is dense and features many loops and flourishes.

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a musical score or a list of numbers, arranged in approximately 15 columns and 10 rows. The script is dense and features many loops and flourishes.



Handwritten musical notation on a single system, featuring a series of notes and rests on a five-line staff. The notation is written in a cursive, historical style, with some notes having stems that cross the staff lines. The system is enclosed in a rectangular frame.

Handwritten musical notation on a single system, featuring a series of notes and rests on a five-line staff. The notation is written in a cursive, historical style, with some notes having stems that cross the staff lines. The system is enclosed in a rectangular frame.





This image shows a page from a manuscript, likely a liturgical book or a collection of hymns. The page is filled with musical notation on staves. The notation consists of square neumes written on four-line red staves. The text is written in a Gothic script, which is a common style for medieval manuscripts. A large, ornate initial 'A' is visible on the left side of the page, marking the beginning of a new section or a new entry. The page is numbered '10' in the top right corner. The overall appearance is that of a well-preserved historical document.

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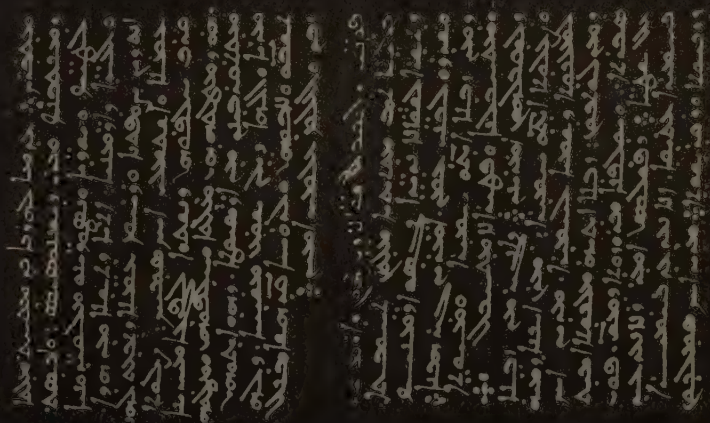
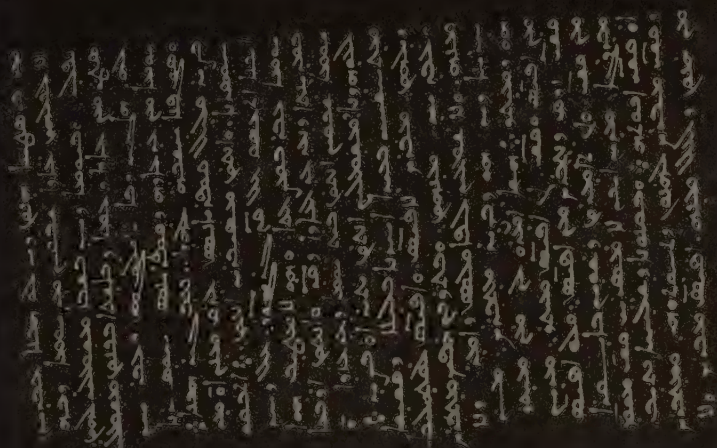
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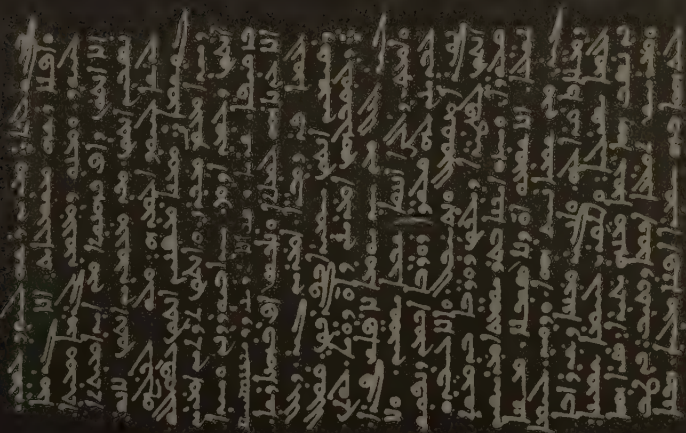
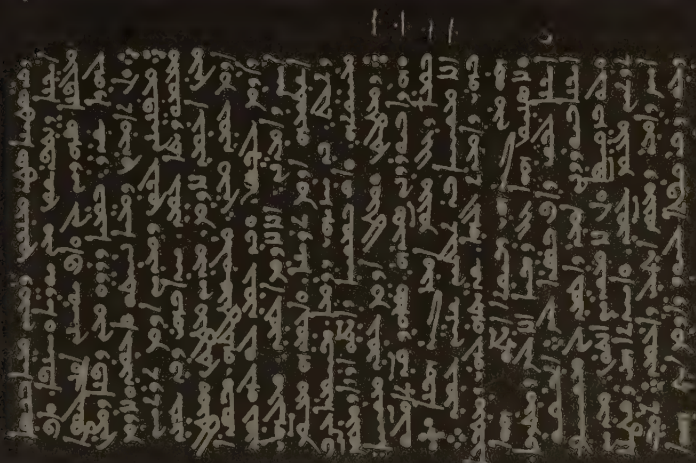




Handwritten musical notation on a dark background, featuring various notes, rests, and clefs, arranged in a single system.

Handwritten musical notation on a dark background, featuring various notes, rests, and clefs, arranged in a single system.







Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a musical score or a list of names, arranged in approximately 15 horizontal lines. The script is dense and flowing, with many ligatures and flourishes. The text is written in a dark ink on a light-colored background.

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a musical score or a list of names, arranged in approximately 15 horizontal lines. The script is dense and flowing, with many ligatures and flourishes. The text is written in a dark ink on a light-colored background.

Handwritten musical notation on a single system, featuring a series of notes and rests arranged in a single line. The notation is dense and appears to be a single melodic line.

Handwritten musical notation on a single system, featuring a series of notes and rests arranged in a single line. The notation is dense and appears to be a single melodic line.

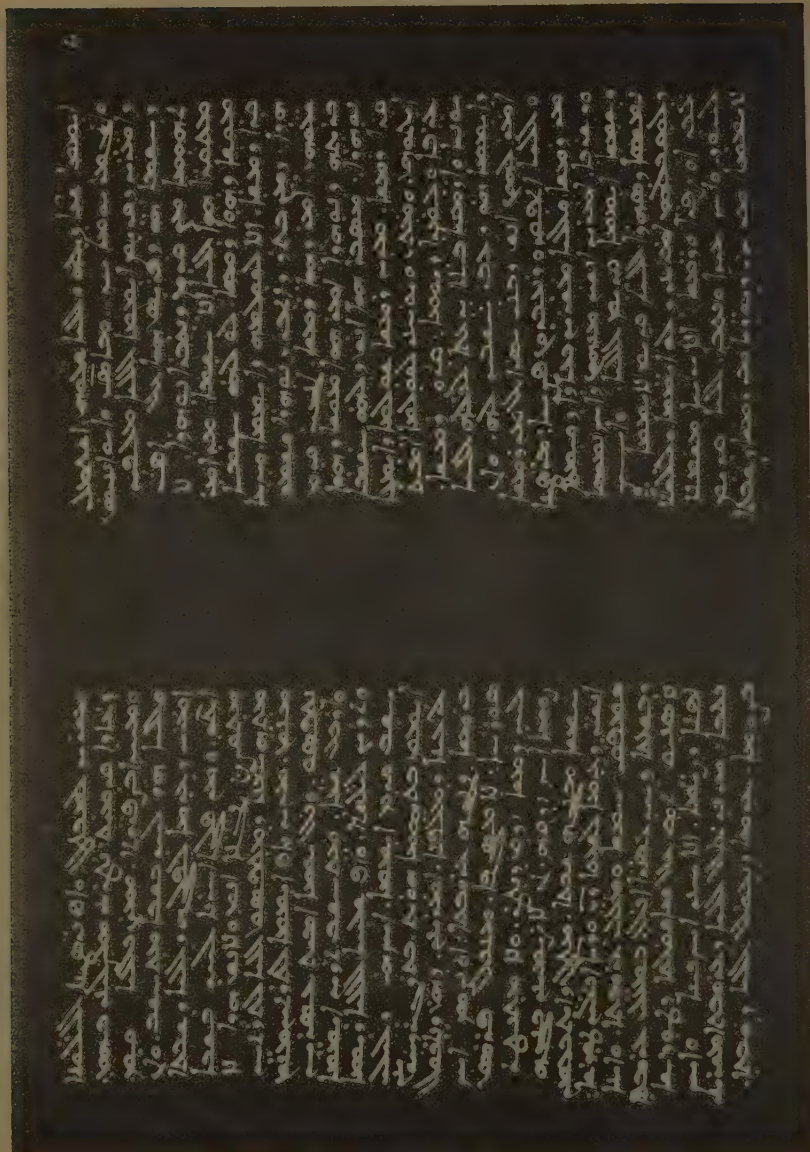
Handwritten musical notation on a single system, featuring a series of notes and rests arranged in a single line. The notation is dense and appears to be a form of early musical notation, possibly from a medieval manuscript. The notes are written in a dark ink on a light background.

Handwritten musical notation on a single system, featuring a series of notes and rests arranged in a single line. The notation is dense and appears to be a form of early musical notation, possibly from a medieval manuscript. The notes are written in a dark ink on a light background.

Handwritten musical notation on a dark background, featuring various notes, rests, and bar lines, arranged in a single system.

Handwritten musical notation on a dark background, featuring various notes, rests, and bar lines, arranged in a single system.







Handwritten musical notation on a dark background, consisting of a single system of staves with notes and clefs.

Handwritten musical notation on a dark background, consisting of a single system of staves with notes and clefs.

Handwritten musical notation on a dark background, consisting of a single system of staves with notes and clefs.

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Handwritten musical notation on a dark background, consisting of a single staff with various notes and rests.

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a title or section heading, located above the lower musical staff.

Handwritten musical notation on a dark background, consisting of a single staff with various notes and rests.

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a signature or a note, located below the lower musical staff.

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a signature or a note, located below the lower musical staff.

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a signature or a note, located below the lower musical staff.

